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Politburo Members Deliver Speeches at Plenum

Ovcharov Speaks on Restructuring

AU1105122189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 May 89 pp 2, 3

[Report on statement by Stoyan Ovcharov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of planning and economy, at the 4 May session of the BCP Central Committee Plenum on Agriculture, held on 4 and 5 May 1989 in Sofia]

[Text] The fate of our restructuring is determined to a great extent by the essence and practical implementation of our agricultural policy. This is so because a return to the social needs of society is one of the main goals of the July Concept and this cannot be achieved without the effective functioning of the agro-industrial sector. There is no advanced country anywhere today where modern industry is not accompanied by agricultural development at the same level, by an agriculture that operates with the same efficiency and profitability. The phenomenon of our rural life, and our agriculture as a whole, are an essential part of the Bulgarian people's cultural traditions.

The entire world development, the new historical essence of the world—all these things show that agriculture is increasingly becoming a branch of strategic importance. The contemporary scientific-technical revolution fully confirms this trend. All this is of basic importance to us.

The large-scale referendum on agricultural policy questions submitted by the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] to the people shows the great social response to these issues and confirmed the determination of our party and society to implement the principles of the July Concept and the decisions of the 1988 December Plenum.

These principles were further developed in the report submitted by the Politburo and in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's introductory speech. In addition, the panorama of a qualitatively new view of the fate and prospects of the Bulgarian village were mapped out. We have every justification for saying that the documents we discussed today mark the beginning of a qualitatively new stage in our party's agricultural policy. The documents describe a new model of socialist agriculture under the specific conditions existing in our country. The success of our agricultural policy, but also the success of our entire restructuring process, depend to a great extent upon the elan, energy, and consistency with which the decisions of the present plenum are implemented.

Stoyan Ovcharov dwelled on three crucial problems which largely determine the rate of restructuring in the agricultural sector.

Stoyan Ovcharov pointed out the need to develop a new type of democracy in the agricultural sector and, above all, the need to adopt a new approach to the management of socialist property in the villages.

The postulate on the unity and diversity of the forms of socialist property is a cornerstone of the July Concept. Our historical development convinces us that it is very important to create extensive opportunities for man's individual interests by linking them to the production means, and to the land in particular. It is only on the basis of a solid economic interest that we can stabilize the village, both from an economic and from a social point of view. Actually, this means that we should develop all forms of managing socialist property in agriculture. This principle applies to individual, cooperative, municipal, mixed, and state property, and so forth. This does not change the nature of agriculture, because all forms of property are developing on the basis of general principles, under the same order and normative-legal system. This circumstance not only provides favorable conditions for competition and stimulation of interests, but subjects all forms of management to equal legal and economic conditions.

Our immediate task today is to fully expand these profoundly democratic principles, so that they are in a position to develop fully. This is the first touchstone of restructuring in agriculture.

The new forms of management represent only an initial step that should be further developed and enriched—but these first steps are objectively required and vitally important to us today, and should be comprehensively supported.

Our party's great wisdom consists of the fact that it takes objective realities into consideration and proposes solutions [illegible] life and our people will accept and support.

The land-lease and piecework system reflect the level of our readiness, the readiness of our society, as a whole, to adopt a new system of management relations.

In maintaining the principle that the land is nationwide property and will remain so also in the future, it is necessary to establish a variety of new types of socialist agricultural farms, including those built on a shareholders' basis. This will permit us to transfer resources from other branches to agriculture and merge them with agricultural resources, as well as to exchange resources between agricultural production units and companies.

This is one of the main prerequisites for eliminating uniformity and monopolism in agriculture, for linking production to individual interests.

The practical implementation of new economic conditions in agriculture is a problem of exceptional importance.

We are facing a serious and intense amount of work related to radical changes in economic conditions resulting from the current, profound transformations in agricultural productive forces and production relations.

The problems of prices and fixing prices plays a crucial role in the complex of economic conditions and regulators.

In the present stage of its development, our agriculture requires a new system of purchasing prices. The present level and the ratio of purchasing prices are not likely to stimulate the development of agricultural production.

The main trend in improving purchasing prices should be the observance of the criteria for the level of expenditures and production quality, that obtain on the international market. At the same time, we should take into account the policy of subsidizing agricultural production practiced in the developed capitalist states and the artificially maintained distortion of international prices for agricultural products.

It has become urgently necessary to have a greater differentiation in fixed limit purchasing prices, according to the existing seasonal environmental-climatic conditions in which agricultural production is obtained. At the same time, we should expand the range of agricultural products for which the prices are fixed on a contractual basis, in accordance with the principle of supply and demand.

The question of establishing equivalent price relations between industry and agriculture, between towns and villages, was quite correctly raised in the report submitted by the Politburo and by some comrades in their statements.

This approach can only be based on a dynamic index of changes in the ratio between the prices of industrial and agricultural goods. This index should be annually assessed and relevant changes should be introduced in fixed and limit prices of agricultural production. In this manner we will prevent some disproportions from accumulating, disproportions which are very difficult to eliminate and cause serious financial difficulties.

The existing system of subsidies for agriculture must be reassessed. It is evident that the state will continue to subsidize the production of certain agricultural goods and certain activities in this sector. This is required by the different soil, climatic, and other conditions.

In certain cases, however, the previous system and practice created favorable conditions for the subsidies to be used incorrectly, with certain institutions and individuals who had nothing to do with specific economic activities being granted special favors. The major part of these subsidies now remain with intermediate and auxiliary units which lead an existence as parasites at the expense of the commodity producers and the state budget, that is, at the expense of the whole nation.

A thorough analysis is called for in connection with another element of the past agricultural model. We have in mind the criterion for the evaluation of economic activities, the low prime cost per production unit, or high yields on the basis of higher expenditures.

This is why we should make an objective analysis and promote a sensible policy in the technological and economic sectors, a policy which takes into consideration the real possibilities of every variety and hybrid, and ensures the lowest prime costs under a given technical assignment for output per unit of production capacity. This is how we will be able to avoid excessive use of chemical substances and ensure the production of ecologically and biologically pure products.

It is right to raise the question of further improving the insurance system for agricultural crops.

Over the period between 1980 and 1988 the State Insurance Institute collected insurance contributions amounting to 2,249,000,000 leva from agricultural organizations, while it paid out compensation amounting to 2,577,000,000 leva, which represents a total of 328 million leva in excess of the contributions. Despite this fact, dissatisfaction with the current insurance system is growing. It must ensure compensation for real losses of agricultural crops suffered by agricultural farms and leaseholders. This requires an improvement in the system of establishing the basis and amount of compensation and insurance contributions. Relations with insurance institutes should be established directly between these institutions and collective, as well as private farms. Along with compulsory insurance, the system of voluntary insurance of agricultural crops should be introduced. We should extensively apply the possibility envisaged in the draft decree, stipulating that agricultural farms are entitled to establish mutual assurance and reinsurance cooperatives and societies.

It is urgently necessary to rapidly solve the problem of social security for private agricultural farmers and leaseholders, Stoyan Ovcharov pointed out.

A proposal is being prepared for retirement insurance to be granted to such people on the basis of statements on their incomes within certain fixed limits. This system differs from the currently accepted system of reduced tariff wages for certain categories of agricultural workers. At the same time we are in the process of preparing proposals for adapting the wages of agricultural producers to the specific conditions of agricultural production. On this basis we should try to solve the problem of a correct ratio between the wages of workers engaged in agriculture and those working in other economic sectors.

There is no doubt that at the present stage of development the system of state orders should be maintained. This system is necessary for guaranteeing certain national balances, as well as for the fulfillment of our country's international obligations in the economic sector.

The minister dwelled on the basic principles of state orders. They should by no means exceed the maximum volume of state orders established by the Decree on Economic Activity. It is necessary to guarantee stability and a permanent volume of state orders for the entire current 5-year period.

The range of state orders should be gradually limited and replaced by economic incentives. It is particularly important to guarantee the equal rights of partnership in imposing state orders and to compensate the agricultural farms for their losses.

Through a flexible manipulation with the structures of agricultural production the agricultural farms may fulfill state orders through export and import operations, at the expense of their foreign exchange incomes.

Dwelling on the requirement for profound structural changes in our agricultural sector, the speaker pointed out that the new structural policy must eliminate all elements contained in the present model of agriculture, which have exhausted their possibilities, and open up opportunities for accelerated technological changes in the entire sphere of agro-industrial production.

The requirements of the domestic market and the need to achieve highly effective exports represent basic principles in developing the structure of agricultural production in our country. From the point of view of domestic consumption, agriculture should provide a rich variety of fresh and processed agricultural products for our market and the necessary raw materials from domestic sources for our light industry. This requires, above all, a drastic change in our structural policy related to plant growing production.

A critical analysis of the present policy and practical experience in connection with the "geography" of certain agricultural goods is called for. As a result of the natural striving for higher incomes, a number of agricultural crops, such as vineyards, orchards, and others, nearly all over the country, were transferred from upland areas and established their "permanent residence" in the plains. The shortage of appropriate technical and irrigation equipment was an additional reason for this. However, such "bottle necks" are now being overcome in the developed countries and their experience should promptly be applied to the conditions existing in our country.

No less difficult tasks, involving great responsibility, should be accomplished in the structure of the animal husbandry sector. The objective conditions required us to force the production of pork and poultry meat which made the already complicated problem of providing the necessary fodder supplies even more difficult.

The structural balance of meat consumption which resulted from this situation should be promptly changed with a view to improving the structure of meat consumption and reducing the relative fodder expenditures. For this reason, we should increase the relative share of cattle breeding and sheep breeding at accelerated rates.

Another important problem is awaiting its solution in the animal husbandry sector. It is the problem of rational scales of production units. It is necessary to find a suitable method of overcoming the increase of giant animal husbandry complexes which is unjustified both from the economic and from the ecological point of view. We need a sensible and efficient approach in building the new animal husbandry farms, taking into account the opportunities existing in connection with private agricultural farms.

If we carefully evaluate the present situation in this sphere, we can see that a peculiar variety and technology monopolism has gradually developed in our country. A limited range of varieties and technologies was gradually established in agriculture, which are evaluated according to our own "domestic" criteria. As a result, we have had to suffer numerous economic losses in recent years. It is urgently required today to adopt energetic measures for a special "technological boom" in this field. Without being slaves to a false self-confidence, we should devote our efforts to the introduction in our country of foreign hybrids, resistant to stress factors, such as draught, low temperatures, plant diseases, and so on. Past experience shows that we cannot rely on success in this field unless we eliminate the existing monopolism in the variety and technological policy.

The food industry is facing exceptionally difficult tasks in connection with structural and technological modernization. The minister of planning and economy emphasized the priority trends in this sector.

He pointed out the requirement of a transition to the coordination of large production capacities with a network of small modular enterprises situated in the immediate vicinity of producers and consumers.

It is required to apply basically new technological complexes and waste-free processing of agricultural goods, to expand the range of products and varieties, assigned to people with specific needs—such as low calorie foodstuffs, and others. We are expecting to build up and modernize the first 106 food industry enterprises based on the most updated technologies and established on the basis of consortiums with leading foreign companies.

The new structural and technological policy, as well as the variety of forms of managing socialist property require a new type of cadre in the agricultural sphere.

The development of individual and small scale agricultural farms presupposes the involvement of specialists who should master a broad spectrum of basic ideas on plant growing, animal husbandry, and food processing, as well as the handling of equipment, and so on. However, such specialists do not exist in our country, nor are any of them being trained for the time being. Nevertheless, without such specialists, we are unable to accomplish a drastic change for the better in the technological sector. We should promptly engage in the solution of this problem, Stoyan Ovcharov declared in closing his statement.

Stoichkov on 'Negative Trends'

AU1105171889 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 May 89 p 5

[Report on "speech by Grigor Stoichkov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers," made at the plenum of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee in Sofia on 4 May]

[Text] It may be said with full justification that the present plenum is a natural development in unswervingly following the party's April line with regard to the development of agriculture under the new conditions. Today, we cannot fail to recall the revolutionary changes that resulted from the April 1956 Plenum, changes connected with the industrialization, concentration, and specialization of agricultural production, which led to a many-fold increase in agricultural output. At the same time, as all of us know well, great and visible changes took place in the Bulgarian village. However, objectivity demands that we admit that certain negative trends have also begun to appear in the villages. They manifested themselves most strongly in the border, mountain, and upland regions, the speaker went on to say.

The fall in population in these regions has led to quite a number of areas of our national territory becoming depopulated, and has caused a deterioration of the demographic structure. The reduced rates and quality of growth in certain agricultural regions has led to lagging in the base of the economy and held up growth of the incomes of part of the rural population.

The level of provision of installations and activities relating to the social and technical infrastructure is several times lower in the villages than in the towns. Generally speaking, uneven socioeconomic development of the villages has been allowed to occur.

To overcome these trends, the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and the Council of Ministers took measures. In 1982, Decree No 22 was adopted on the accelerated development of municipalities of the fourth and fifth functional types, the border regions, and the Stradhza-Sakara region. This decree played a positive part in the accelerated build-up and development of the economy and the social base, as well as in reducing, and in some areas halting, the migration processes.

It is enough merely to recall that more than 2 billion leva of capital investments were made in these regions; over 350 small enterprises and workshops were set up; water supplies were provided for 197 villages; road links with the centers of the municipalities were provided for 423 settlements, and direct telephone links installed for 485 settlements; and over 380 buildings were constructed for culture, youth activities, and so on.

However, it must be stressed that Decree No 22 was not sufficiently large in scale, and did not provide differentiated approaches to the required extent. Moreover, a number of departments, okrugs, municipalities, and economic organizations failed to carry out their obligations fully.

No overall solutions were provided for the problems of the border regions. This is why the BCP Central Committee Politburo ordered the drafting of integrated measures for developing the settlements in these regions. As is well-known, the Council of Ministers adopted Decree No 31. This was a broad-scale document of great political and social importance. The measures included in the decree covered 1,017 centers of population. The decree provided for an annual allocation of 470 million leva from the state budget.

There are now many proposals for including new settlements in the scope of Decree No 31. This shows that unresolved problems exist in these regions. Accordingly, new approaches and solutions are required regarding Bulgarian village development, in the spirit of the July Concept and in accordance with the objective situation.

The report not only meets this requirement, but also develops new views and ideas regarding Bulgarian village development, the speaker emphasized.

Further on in his speech, Comrade Grigor Stoichkov spoke about the integrated development of the economic base of the Bulgarian village, which must undoubtedly continue to rest on agriculture. This issue has been put forward at the plenum with all its inherent sharpness and complexity, he stated. First and foremost, one has to find the optimum methods for using and managing the land under the conditions of socialism, by applying new technologies and forms of organization and payment that will bring about a sharp increase in the output and efficiency of agricultural production.

However, agriculture alone is not sufficient for the creation of integrated conditions for retaining the population, and especially young people, in the villages. It is also necessary to develop other activities that will offer conditions for utilizing more intellectual labor.

This is why it is now important to continue the adopted line for setting up small enterprises and workshops mainly in the villages, while strictly adhering to the principle of uniform territorial disposition. In this manner, suitable small enterprises can be directed toward the large villages or groups of villages, depending on the specific conditions. This task should be imposed on the companies, while the municipal and oblast people's councils will have the deciding word regarding the location of the enterprises. The latter must have the right to apply a system of economic incentives to the companies, such as exemption from certain local taxes, granting of land at minimum charges, prepared infrastructure installations for their use, and so on.

Construction of the small enterprises should be carried out on the modular principle, using modern technologies and taking into account the seasonal nature and specific conditions of the agricultural work and the regions themselves.

It is necessary to create scientific units, subsidiary branches, laboratories, and experimental stations in the villages, which will ensure the introduction of scientific achievements into production and serve as bases for the practical training of specialists and students.

All this will enable a dynamically developing economic base to be set up and function in the conditions of the Bulgarian village as a foundation upon which to increase the attractiveness of the village for highly qualified young specialists and to create a modern intelligentsia in the villages.

The speaker also dealt with the issue of the accelerated social and intellectual development of the Bulgarian village.

It should be underlined that the social and intellectual living conditions existing up to the present in a large part of the villages do not meet the increased cultural and intellectual requirements of young people and the intelligentsia. Accordingly, the negative trends pointed out in the report, which restrict the cultural and educational opportunities in some of the Bulgarian villages, as well as a number of other existing social problems, demand that we carry out accelerated social and intellectual development of the Bulgarian village.

A number of problems are now particularly acutely demanding solutions. One is the question of further improving health services in the villages by ensuring that the entire population is covered by the end of the current 5-year plan with all kinds of health care aid. Beginning from 1990, expectant mothers, children, and old people in the villages must be placed under permanent care and monitoring in the places where they live.

By the end of 1995, the material-technical base of rural health care must be brought into line with the new territorial health policy, by providing the following: a health center in every village or group of villages, to be created by adapting buildings assigned for the purpose; organization of pharmacies in all villages with more than 1,000 inhabitants; wide introduction of mobile diagnostic and stomatological surgeries; construction of regional polyclinics, and so on.

It is of exceptional importance, the speaker continued, to raise the level of trade in the village by 1995, through expanding and diversifying the network. This should be carried out so that about 80 percent of the population's needs are met within the region of the municipality. For this purpose, new forms of trade and services must be created: mail-order and subscription purchasing systems, traveling stores and workshops, combined postal, trade, and craft services, restaurant catering, and so on.

Under the conditions of the overall renewal of society, the intellectual needs of the rural population must be satisfied more fully and to a higher standard of quality.

There is a need for a sharp increase in the standard of education, making provision within a short time scale, where conditions permit, for education to continue for 12 years and for it to be primarily directed toward the needs of the economy in the relevant region.

It is also of particular importance to re-establish the role of the reading room in the villages as the main cultural meeting place, by reviving the rich traditions of folk creativity and amateur artistic activities and bringing the traditional ceremonies and rituals up to date. At the same time, the functions of the reading room's material base should be oriented toward the contemporary requirements of young people. It is necessary to devote special care to developing the sporting facilities for schoolchildren and young people.

Thus, by creating a modern, rich social and intellectual life and by reviving its traditions, the Bulgarian village should once again become a complete national organism and an attractive place to live in.

It is especially important to preserve and restore the specific nature of the rural living environment by taking account of the special features of national everyday life and preserving the village's traditions and architectural and historical inheritance, Comrade Grigor Stoichkov emphasized.

It is necessary to establish the village house as an individual family home with a yard and outbuildings, and to give the village house new functions that meet modern living standards.

In organizing and building up the village's material base, one should follow the line of making intensive use of the building land, plots, and areas through applying multipurpose, cooperative, and multifunctional buildings and structures, and widely adapting existing buildings to new functions.

The further improvement of transport services to the rural population is of particular importance for creating an integrated living environment. The solving of these questions demands that we provide, by the end of the 10th 5-Year Plan, all the required transport vehicles for the mass public transit routes between the towns and the villages.

It is necessary to radically improve communications services for the village and the rural population by completing the full telephone network for the villages. The lagging in the construction of the engineering infrastructure and provision of public services in individual villages in the municipalities must be overcome by applying a differentiated approach.

The speaker expanded on the need to create adequate management conditions and mechanisms for Bulgarian village development. He announced that a new set of regulations has been drawn up that provides for further improvement of the territorial system of management and self-management under conditions of company-based organization.

New functions and rights are being granted to the oblast people's councils, based on the transfer of functions from the Council of Ministers, ministries, and committees. The functions, rights, and obligations of the municipalities are being expanded. A number of new rights and obligations are being given to the townships, as direct organs of rural management and self-management of the population: to administer and manage the installations of socialist property, and coordinate and control the efficient use of local resources and the meeting of the population's everyday needs.

There is a pressing need to find a speedy solution to the cadre problems of the Bulgarian village. It is well-known that a number of problems exist in connection with the shortage of leading cadres and specialists in the field of village socioeconomic life.

There is a 20-percent shortage of agricultural specialists and veterinary surgeons, while in Razgrad and Varna Oblasts the shortage is 30-40 percent. There are more than 400 vacancies for doctors and stomatologists. There are almost 1,000 temporary teachers, and almost half the teachers in the villages commute from the towns.

The quality characteristics of the cadres in the villages and municipalities are a serious cause for alarm. Over 50 percent of the mayors of townships and 60 percent of the township secretaries have only general secondary education or less. Only 8 percent of mayors have a higher education, while township secretaries with such education are very few.

The democratization of political life, establishment of the principles of self-management, and the future introduction of the principle of fixed terms of office are creating a new situation, one in which every capable Bulgarian citizen can be a potential candidate for the office of mayor or post of leader of a farm, and also be elected as a member of the executive organs of the people's councils.

This presupposes that every citizen should possess at least a minimum of knowledge about the people's councils, the functions of the village, its legal, financial, and administrative organization, farm management, and so on. Trained cadres are required for the introduction of new technologies into agriculture and the other branches. All this poses an immense task for our education system. The Council for Higher Education must apply a differential approach in accepting students, to train cadres for the Bulgarian village. It is appropriate for the people's councils to conclude agreements with higher educational establishments to organize training of the cadres needed for the individual municipality and village. In training the cadres for the villages, municipalities, and townships, it is important to increase their degree of professionalism. In this context, it may be a good idea, when training the cadres in the higher educational establishments, to arrange special training in the areas in which they will work during the last semester or in special courses.

It is also appropriate to discuss the question of incentives for the specialists working in the villages. In certain specialties, higher salaries should be provided for those employed in the villages than for those working in the towns. This may be a temporary measure, but it is a necessary one at this stage.

The new agricultural policy in the conditions of restructuring will primarily depend for its flesh and blood on the quality of the cadres that we are training to carry out this policy.

The solution of the qualitatively new tasks of the agricultural policy and the mastering of the processes of restructuring in agriculture demand a new level of social consciousness and fundamentally new approaches and methods of leadership. We face a revolutionary turning point in the development of agriculture and the socialist Bulgarian village. This turning point sets a task not only for the agricultural workers and the people living and working in the villages. It must become a nationwide task to create conditions for the land to produce more, the villages to be reborn, and for a new living environment to be created for those living in them, an environment adequate for the goals, objective natural laws, and demands of the future. It may certainly be stated that these tasks are real ones.

According to provisional calculations, 3 million leva are needed to build up the social and technical infrastructure in the villages by 1995. This represents 5 percent of the capital investments during the relevant period. The question now arises of reallocating these investments to building up the infrastructure in the villages.

In fulfilling this program, the central organs will play a certain role, but most of the work will be undertaken by the municipalities and townships. They must draw up their own programs that specifically correspond to the tasks that will be embodied in the national program for developing the Bulgarian village.

The party committees and organizations, the associations of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, and the Fatherland Front and Komsomol organizations will play an exceptionally important role in carrying through the new agricultural policy.

The plenum documents will shape a new political, economic, social, and ideological climate that will create conditions for conducting a new agricultural policy and a new approach toward Bulgarian village development.

The questions connected with this development are great, complex, and responsible. It is exceptionally important for the country and the entire nation that they be resolved, Comrade Grigor Stoichkov stressed. He proposed that the plenum instructed a commission of BCP Central Committee members and others to draft the national program for developing the Bulgarian village within 6 months and to submit it to the Politburo and Council of Ministers for approval.

Plenum Statements Reported

AU1105091789

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgaria on 5, 6, and 7 May carries "insignificantly abridged" BTA reports, ranging between 700 and 2,000 words each, on statements by participants at the 4-5 May Plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP].

On 5 May the paper carries the statements by Ivan Boychev, "Chairman of the Burgas Agro-Industrial Complex," (1,500 words, page 4) and Atanas Atanasov "candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and First Secretary of Smolyan Municipal BCP Committee," (1,600 words, pages 4, 5), made at the 4 May session.

Boychev stresses that "agricultural restructuring is a pressing need." On behalf of his collective he "warmly supports the proposal of Comrade Todor Zhivkov to turn the brigade into the basic organizational-economic unit," as well as "the proposal to create large-scale economic integration of agriculture with other branches, involved in production."

Speaking about the successes of the Burgas Agroindustrial Complex Boychev points out that "piecework is being applied in the complex since 1982," and that "about 1,000 families are working in agriculture on the basis of piecework and citizens' contracts."

Further on Boychev speaks about the importance of state assistance to agricultural plants and asserts: "We all know that the possibilities of the state are limited. However, we cannot strengthen agriculture with organizational measures and financial injections alone. What we need is a purposeful redistribution of the national revenue among the national economy branches, and between the base and the superstructure."

In conclusion Boychev expresses the hope that "the decisions of the BCP Central Committee plenum will not only facilitate a change in agriculture's organizational structure, but also a change in the economic and social development of the labor collectives and the Bulgarian villages."

In his speech Atanasov "fully supports the political conclusions of the report." He describes the geographical-climatic characteristics of Smolyan region, and the development of agriculture in the area. In this context he says: "In recent years the present model of the organization of labor and production exhausted its possibilities, and extremely unfavorable tendencies emerged." Those tendencies led to "decreased efficiency and material interest. A great part of the agricultural enterprises are in a difficult financial situation." Atanasov lists the following causes that led to the situation he describes: "lack of mechanization" and the "high price of manual labor"; "lack of possibility to ensure fodder for feeding the animals"; "the administrative-edict methods of leadership and neglecting the principles of cooperative democracy."

Atanasov describes the development of leasing in the Smolyan area and stresses the need "to convince the people that the new measures are not temporary steps, or merely a change of label, and that their interests will not be violated in future." He also recommends increasing the purchasing price of agricultural produce with a view to increasing the attractiveness of agricultural work.

On 6 May the paper carries further statements.

The speech by Andrey Radoslavov, "leader of a brigade in Trapishte Village, Razgrad Oblast," at the 4 May session of the plenum is reported on page 3 in 1,500-word report. Radoslavov describes the activity of his brigade and points out that "since we have fewer problems than in other places, we can continue our work in the same manner as in past." He stresses that better successes could be achieved if "mechanization in the branch was better," and in this context he says: "We are waiting for the people at the top to distribute the machines. We cannot purchase the equipment we need ourselves. Often we receive what happens to be available and not what we need."

On ecological issues, Radoslavov points out that "many organizations are destroying our fruitful and patient land," and demands "clearer regulations" on environmental protection.

The statement by Mincho Pankov, "candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of Executive Committee of the Sofia Oblast People's Council," at the 4 May session of the plenum is carried on page 3 in a 2,000-word report. Pankov "fully supports the conclusions, ideas, and approaches outlined in the report, because they direct us toward new thinking and responsible practical work in agriculture." He describes the establishment of shareholders' associations in Sofia Oblast, and says in this context: "We must not close our eyes to the fact that the profitability of agriculture is increasing very slowly, and that the industrial companies do not have sufficient means of self-financing." Therefore he stresses the need for "economic assistance," in addition to "party and administrative intervention." He demands that "the current approach of distributing the finances by the center be reassessed," because this practice "constantly sustains the hope that 'a few drops' will come from the center in any event." He describes the importance of piecework and leasing and points out the importance of "restoring forests in Bulgaria." In this context he stresses that "100,000 decares of new forest are planted annually in Sofia Oblast."

Pankov describes the "depopulation of the villages in Sofia Oblast," and asserts that "economic and social problems" have caused that phenomenon. He proposes various social and urbanization measures, such as "increasing the plots in the villages," and "changing the approach toward apartment construction," which, according to him could bring people back to the villages.

The statement by Evtim Ovcharov, "member of the BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission and leader of a plant-growing and cattle-breeding brigade in the town of Vulchedrum, Mikhaylovgrad Oblast," is carried on page 4 in a 1,000-word report. Ovcharov says that "the successes of his brigade surpass by 30-40 percent the successes of other brigades, working under similar soil and natural-climatic conditions." He attributes these successes to "correctly solving the issues of concentration and specialization," and efficient use of the equipment. He describes in detail the activity of his brigade and asserts that "the principles of cost-accounting have always been an integral part of our activity." The brigade collective is satisfied with the "new equipment and good wages." Ovcharov "warmly supports the premises on agriculture, included in the report," and demands "closer cooperation between the producers of agricultural raw materials and the food industry enterprises."

In conclusion he speaks on the future of the Bulgarian villages, and expresses the opinion that "the most pressing problems in the spheres of education, medical services, ensuring supplies for the population, and transportation and other services, must be solved within a period of 4-5 years." The other basic problems "could be solved within a period of 15-20 years."

The statement by Slavcho Trunski, "member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Committee on Solidarity With the Peoples of Asia and Africa," at the 4 May session is carried on pages 4 and 5 in a 1,600-word report.

Slavcho Trunski, a legendary figure in Bulgaria, former leader of the partisan movement in Bulgaria and close friend of Tito, vividly describes the deterioration of Bulgarian agriculture, stressing "his puzzlement at the fact that in recent years Bulgaria has had to import onions, grain, potatoes, and even cabbage," and asserting that "the plenum must answer these questions." In this context Trunski says:

"By deposing many past ideals and relinquishing forms and approaches, which until yesterday were leading principles of our work, we are today creating a psychosis of temporizing in restructuring, a psychosis of doubt—are we not going to negate tomorrow what we propose today as new and most effective factors? The transiency of some of our laws, decisions, decrees, and instructions, and the frequent reorganizations, including in the area of agriculture, which we occasionally implement without sufficient thought and grounds, provide the grounds for this doubt."

Further on Slavcho Trunski criticizes the elimination of small enterprises in the cities, such as bakeries, soft-drink-producing plants, and so forth, and says: "Now, after we have learned from the bitter experience, we are restoring with birth pains what we so light-heartedly destroyed when we were building the big cities."

Trunski also refers to the fact that "he knows no other country where cattle are fed with bread." In this context he says that thinking that the government has not dealt with this issue, he sent a proposal to the Council of Ministers. "Subsequently I learned that the government had issued nine decrees on bread, some of which even included strict sanctions. None of them is being implemented, nobody has been punished, and the use of bread for feeding cattle continues."

In conclusion he expresses hope that "the plenum will adopt decisions of lasting importance for the fate of agriculture, and its rapid restructuring, renewal, and development. I shall also vote for such decisions."

The statement by Ivan Pekhlivanov, "member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Central Cooperative Union," at the 4 May session of the BCP Central Committee plenum, is carried on page 5 in a 2,000-word report.

Pekhlivanov says that "many basic lessons related to restructuring the activity of the cooperatives can be drawn from the report, the first being that effective restructuring could be implemented only if it is done from the bottom." He demands that "the cooperative movement be immediately restructured from the bottom," and stresses that "the primary cooperative must become the basic organizational-economic unit of the cooperative movement."

Pekhlivanov also describes the advantages of the company-based organization, and asserts that "there is a dispute in the cooperative movement about the company-based organization. Some people think that the company-based organization is almost a retreat from the cooperative idea itself." In this context he expresses the opinion that "in fact the company-based organization of management and administration has always been applied in the cooperative movement," therefore "it poses no threat to the cooperative movement."

RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 7 May carries further statements read at the BCP Central Committee plenum:

The statement by Georgi Menov, "member of the Permanent Board of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] and minister of agriculture and forestry," read at the 4 May session of the plenum, is carried on page 2 in a 1,200-word report. Menov begins by stating that "the BZNS highly values the theoretical elaborations and practical measures noted in the report." He points out the importance of "perfecting the investment policy on the basis of constantly increasing capital investments in agriculture."

Menov also speaks about the importance of "the economic regulators, and price, tax, and credit policy" in improving agriculture. In this context he says: "The tax policy must encourage agriculture and stimulate public and private farms. The revenue of those who who have worked efficiently must not be expropriated."

Turning to the activities of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry," Menov says: "The ministry will find its natural place through new means, methods, and approaches. It will assume responsibility for solving those issues, which are matters of state policy, and which are matters of exclusive state competence.

"As a state organ, the ministry will implement state policy and the strategy of preserving, managing, and reproducing land, the forests, and all biological resources."

In conclusion he speaks about the importance of cooperation between the BCP and the BZNS "in their common work and in comprehensively restructuring Bulgarian society."

The statement by Dimo Uzunov, "candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and secretary of the BCP Varna Oblast Committee," read at the 4 May session of the plenum, is carried on page 2 in a 1,500 word report. Uzunov describes the agricultural successes of Varna Oblast, and mentions the brigades in the villages of Preselentsi, Orlyak, and Bulgarevo as brigades who have achieved excellent successes in their work. Further on he describes the application of piecework and leasing in Varna Oblast, and asserts: "The first results of massively applying piecework organization show that we are following the correct road."

Turning to the role of party organizations in solving the agricultural problems, he says:

"It would be wrong to think that the role of the party will decrease under conditions of piece work organization. On the contrary, now we need more than ever strong and active party organizations, for conducting systematic and purposeful individual work with the people."

The statement by Nikolay Tsonev, "candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the 'Mechanization and Technical Services For Agricultural Economy' Economic Trust," at the 4 May session, is carried on page 2 in a 1,000-word report. Tsonev says that "the renewal of the technical base significantly accelerated after the 13th BCP Congress." Among the successes of his enterprise he mentions "the production of 14,000 new tractors during the last 2 years." According to Tsonev, "the supply of appropriate tractors for the needs of those engaged in piecework and leasing, has increased." At the same time, Tsonev points out the difficulties in mechanizing agriculture:

"We have no illusions about the degree of mechanization in our agriculture. Successfully solving the tasks in a specific sub-branch or individual brigades and farms, still does not mean that the problems of the entire branch are solved." In this context Tsonev points out that it is still impossible to satisfy the needs of those engaged in piecework in everything related to mountain agriculture machines, equipment for harvesting tomatoes, tomatoes, and peppers, refrigerators, and so forth. "The quality of the agricultural equipment is another problem," Tsonev admits. In conclusion he expresses his "firm conviction that the decisions of the plenum will give a new and powerful impetus to the accelerated development of agriculture."

The statement by Tolyo Tolev, "manager of the Khaskovo Beer-Producing Factory," read at the 5 May session of the plenum, is carried on page 2 in a 900-word report. Tolev "supports the premises of the report and its conclusions about the directions of developing agriculture, noting that they are a clear political platform for solving the cardinal problems of agriculture and the food industry." He describes the successes of the beer-producing enterprise he manages, and expresses the opinion that two independent self-financing beer-producing companies can be established, each producing the two most famous brands of Bulgarian beer, "Astika" and "Zagorka."

The statement by Radka Nalbantova, "leader of brigade at Zlati Trap Village, Plovdiv Oblast," at the 5 May session, is reported on page 3 (700 words).

Nalbantova describes her brigade's successes and says: "With the results we have achieved we proved that for the good manager there are no bad years." She reports that her brigade signs 1,200 individual citizen's contracts every year. She complains about the insurance system and says that "they steal every year 300,000 leva from us. We proposed many times that the mechanism of insurance be changed, but nobody listens to us." She proposes to "make insurance a voluntary matter, as it is throughout the world." Finally, she speaks about the "serious problems in introducing leasing, related to the fact that we can offer nothing to leaseholders. We have almost no equipment suitable for work on small plots."

The statement of Lazar Pandev, "deputy minister of agriculture and forestry," at the 5 May session, is reported on page 3 (1,000 words). Pandev devotes his statement entirely to the problems of the Bulgarian forests. He says that "the branch that once helped to build up the national economy itself needs help today." He notes two main problems in the sphere of forestry: the lack of appropriate conditions for implementing the various programs, and the low wages of those engaged in forestry, and says that a workers engaged in forestry "must work very hard for a monthly wage of 150-170 leva." He points out "the need for the active participation of state organs in managing and preserving forests," and demands a "more professional attitude and skill in pursuing the goals related to helping forestry attain the place it deserves in the national economy."

The statement by Tseno Khinkovski, "candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Academy of Agriculture," at the 5 May session, is reported on pages 3 and 4 (2,000 words). He primarily speaks about relations between science and agriculture and the training provided by the Academy of Agriculture. He stresses that "unfortunately agricultural leaders and specialists do not trust the competence of agricultural scientists in applying foreign technologies, and thus failures occur." He expresses his support for the Politburo report and describes various scientific programs developed by the Academy of Agriculture, and aimed at improving the quality of many agricultural products. In this context he stresses "the importance of the special center of research in genetic engineering and the national system of laboratories," in the efforts to overcome the "backwardness in the area of genetics, and in improving selection."

Khinkovski proposes turning the Academy of Agriculture into a "center in charge of implementing state policy related to the technological restructuring of agriculture."

In conclusion he speaks about the importance of "more efficient and better organized science in agriculture," and demands the "rapid borrowing and transfer of foreign technological progress, using understanding, skill, and responsibility."

The statement by Milen Nikolov, "secretary of the Dimitrov Komsomol," at the 5 May session of the plenum is reported on page 4 (1,200 words). Nikolov stresses two main issues: "How is Bulgarian youth to participate in implementing agricultural policy, and how should agriculture be used for solving the problems of youth in the villages?"

Nikolov admits that "the present conditions of agricultural work repel young people. The village sharply limits the possibilities of youth for personal and professional choice and the prospects of self-assertion." In this context he says that "the company-based organization of agriculture, piecework, leasing, and modern technologies, create new conditions for youth in the villages."

Further on he speaks on the importance of the participation of Komsomol members in self-management and in developing ways of creating a positive attitude toward the village among Bulgarian youth.

The statement by Zlatka Pavlova, "candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Agricultural Commission at the Sliven Municipal People's Council," at the 5 May session is reported on page 4 (1,400 words). Pavlova describes the agricultural successes of Sliven area and the role of the municipal party committee in facilitating these successes. She points out the discrepancy between wages received by agricultural workers, and the wages of workers engaged in areas servicing agriculture. She points out that "at the end of the year, workers engaged in services for agriculture receive premiums which represent 15-40 percent of their wages," while agricultural workers receive no premiums at all. She describes the problem of irrigation in Sliven region and stresses that "one third of the plots are not effectively irrigated and do not produce the necessary results."

In conclusion Pavlova speaks about the tax on the profit, and says that "it is wrong that every year the agricultural workers await the decision of the government as to what percentage of their profit will go in tax." She recommends "maintaining the tax at 20 percent for a longer period of time," and calculate the net profit for tax purposes only after deducting the amounts paid by the agricultural workers for insurance and interest on the loans."

The statement by Nikola Karakolev, "chairman of the 'Bulgarian Rose' Scientific Production Combine in Kazanluk," at the 5 May session is reported on page 4 (700 words). Karakolev speaks exclusively about the activity of the enterprise he leads, describing its successes. He attributes these successes to the "personal interest of the direct producers," and points out the enthusiasm of the workers. He recommends that "that part of the profit which is used for investment and expanding production, scientific research, and training of cadres be exempt from tax."

The statement by Lazar Donchev, "candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and first secretary of the BCP Lovech Municipal Committee," at the 5 May session is reported on page 4 (800 words).

Donchev says that "piece work is widely applied in the Lovech area." Like other speakers at the plenum, he describes the depopulation of many rural areas, "especially in the mountain regions." In this context he says: "Already 15 years ago Comrade Todor Zhivkov posed the task of making a breakthrough in the mountains. This is a specific task of great economic and social importance. However, it was not implemented. The main reason was the inefficient measures and approaches and most of all the administrative-edict methods of leadership."

In conclusion Donchev urges the participants in the plenum to facilitate the implementation of the party decisions in the area of agriculture. "Stagnation is evident, and it has been going on for years. We could catch up if we work fast and in a well thought out and organized manner. The more we wait, the higher the price will be."

Zhivkov Debates Settlement Law in Assembly

AU1205175089 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 May 89 p 1

[Report on second and final day of 10th session of the Ninth National Assembly in Sofia on 10 May]

[Excerpts] Sofia [RABOTNICHESKO DELO reporters Mitko Bozhkov, Tsvetana Tosheva, Vasil Kh. Popov, Plamen Enchev, and cameraman Dimitur Viktorov]—[passage omitted] The 2d day's sitting of the 10th session of the Ninth National Assembly was chaired by Drazha Vulcheva, deputy chairman of the National Assembly.

The debates continued on the agenda. Item No 7 on the agenda was the discussion of the draft law on state revenues, proposed by the Council of Ministers. [passage omitted]

The draft law was adopted on the first vote and submitted for further discussion.

The next item for discussion was the draft law on amendments and additions to the Law on Territorial and Settlement Organization, proposed by the Council of Ministers.

Stefan Staynov, chairman of the Territorial and Settlement Organization Committee, delivered a report in the name of the proposer.

The viewpoint of the Legislative Commission was given by Boris Spasov.

People's Deputies Petur Petrov, Kostadin Yanchev, Stefan Ninov, and Peko Takov made speeches.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov then took the floor. He pointed out that the draft law proposed for discussion complies in its main elements with the July Concept, and that everyone who worked on it was to be congratulated. However, since the problem was a particularly large one, the material in the draft law dealt with exceptionally important features of territorial and settlement organization, and these must conform to the State Council decree that is to be published on land use and the organization of agricultural activity. This is the reason why such a law must be adopted, a law that is to provide the fullest protection for the rights of citizens and is to regulate with the utmost precision all the problems of territorial development and urban-planning development in the township and the municipality, and no one should be able to amend it. Both the township and the municipality should be respectively answerable to the law. In this connection, the issue also arises of the present hierarchy in these administrative units, because there is a likelihood, for example, of the law being amended by the technical commission, and so on.

In stating these cardinal requirements, the chairman of the State Council proposed that additional discussion on the draft law should be continued in the permanent commissions of the National Assembly, and that it should then be submitted for final examination to a session of parliament.

The proposal was approved by the people's deputies. [passage omitted]

Zhivkov, Papandreou Exchange Views on Relations

AU2204190689 Sofia BTA in English 1758 GMT 22 Apr 89

[Text] Alexandroupolis, April 22 (BTA special correspondent)—Today Mr Todor Zhivkov, the Bulgarian state leader, declared himself to be for affirming the border between Bulgaria and Greece as a border of peace, confidence and friendship. He is for building Bulgaro-Greek relations on the basis of understanding and mutually advantageous cooperation. This is in harmony with the new realities in the world, with the requirements set by its dynamics directed towards international communion, the president of the State Council of Bulgaria said at the lunch given in his honour by Mr Andreas Papandreou, prime minister of Greece.

Mr Todor Zhivkov, who is visiting Greece for talks with the Greek premier, pointed out that if Bulgaro-Greek relations are to make a growing contribution to the progress of East-West relations, to keep up the pace of their development would not be enough, it must be speeded up. What has been achieved is considered in Bulgaria not the limit, but the starting point for an ever more efficient interaction in all fields, he added.

The Bulgarian state leader spoke about the positive changes in international relations, stressing the importance of the Soviet-American INF Treaty and the change of the approach to the settlement of regional conflicts aimed at solving them by political means. But at the same time it was pointed out that the nuclear threat is still existing, that the deeply rooted causes of many of the regional conflicts have remained and that there are ecological problems. That is why unabating efforts are needed to strengthen peace and security and it is necessary to realize that priority should be given to universal values.

Satisfaction was expressed with the identical or similar positions of the two countries on key international problems and a stress was laid on the fact that Bulgaria gives primacy to the promotion of the relations among the Balkan countries.

Mr Todor Zhivkov spoke in favour of turning the Mediterranean into a region of peace, security and cooperation, consistently implementing the Helsinki and Madrid agreements with regard to that part of the world and spreading the measures adopted in Stockholm over this region. But improvement of the situation in the Mediterranean can be achieved only by finding political solutions to regional conflicts and the question of Cyprus is one of the most serious problems in that part of the world. Mr Todor Zhivkov pointed out that the Greek and Turkish Cypriots must decide themselves what the internal structure of their state should be, without any intervention from the outside. Bulgaria is for an international conference on the problem of Cyprus held under the aegis of the United Nations at which international guarantees should be given for the independence and non-alliance of Cyprus.

The Greek premier greeted Mr Todor Zhivkov as an envoy of peaceful cooperation and nuclear disarmament, Greek-Bulgarian friendship and all-Balkan cooperation. In his toast the prime minister of Greece pointed out the contribution of the Bulgarian state leader to the strengthening of bilateral relations, the role of the traditional summit dialogue for the further development of bilateral cooperation, finding solution to regional problems and problems of East-West relations.

Further on the host underlined that Greek-Bulgarian friendship is not the work of only the political leadership of the two countries. It is deeply rooted in the consciousness of the peoples of Greece and Bulgaria, formed on the basis of common values and interests, on the basis of their adherence to peace and the understanding they share a common fate.

Mr Andreas Papandreou spoke about the comprehensive cooperation between Greece and Bulgaria in the political, economic and cultural field and the new prospects for interaction.

Commenting on the views of the two countries on key international problems, the Greek premier said that Sofia and Athens, both from their territory and from the platforms of international forums struggle for the same values. He expressed his satisfaction with the presence of political will in the Common Market to cooperate with the CMEA and with the fact that states of different social order are able to find common ground to negotiate on unsettled problems.

The prime minister of Greece highly appreciated what has been achieved in the field of disarmament, especially the Soviet-American INF Treaty. He expressed his hope that the negotiations with the new American Administration will go on at the same pace so that the two great powers reach an agreement on strategic weapons in the near future.

The Greek premier spoke also about cooperation in the Balkans and the idea of turning this region into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons. He said that the contacts among the Balkan countries on different levels will help overcome the now existing sharp differences. All-Balkan cooperation is not only to the benefit of the peoples in this part of the world, Mr Andreas Papandreou said.

The host voiced his concern over the situation with regard to Cyprus and his hope that the conflict will be settled in the near future on the basis of the dialogue conducted at the initiative of Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, UN secretary general.

Leaders Sign Declaration

*AU2304151289 Sofia BTA in English
1438 GMT 23 Apr 89*

[Text] Sofia, April 23 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council of Bulgaria, and Mr Andreas Papandreou, prime minister of Greece, signed in Khaskovo today a declaration, in which the two state leaders,

—expressing the will of their peoples to live in peace in a world free of weapons and violence,
—encouraged by the positive trends in international life, the development of the dialogue and the reduction of nuclear weapons,
—in their desire to contribute to the continuation and the strengthening of this process,
—reassured by the good prospects for concluding an agreement on the prohibition and the elimination of chemical weapons and determined to sign it immediately after it is presented to all states for signature,
—in the spirit of their long-standing policy aimed at affirming the climate of confidence, security, good neighbourly relations, understanding and cooperation both between the two countries and in the Balkans,
—in their will to contribute to the promotion of multilateral Balkan cooperation by concrete actions and to working out measures for strengthening the confidence and security in this region,
—in continuation of their efforts hitherto aimed at turning the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons,

—referring to their joint statement of February 23, 1988 which provides for taking measures for the removal of tactical nuclear weapons from the Balkans and assuming obligations for the non-deployment of new nuclear weapons in the region,
—and in accordance with Article 6 of the Declaration for Friendship, Good Neighbourly Relations and Cooperation Between Bulgaria and Greece of September 11, 1986,

1. Declare that the governments of the two countries will work out norms of behaviour for turning their territories into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons.
2. In this connection they will abstain from actions which would hinder the creation of a nuclear-and-chemical-weapons-free zone.
3. At the same time they appeal to the other Balkan countries to back up their efforts with the purpose of working out and approving norms of behaviour for freeing the territories of all Balkan countries from nuclear and chemical weapons.
4. They express their hope that all states will encourage and support the efforts aimed at creating a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons in the Balkans.
5. The two countries state that the present declaration is not directed against any third countries and that it is without prejudice to the rights and obligations ensuing from operative agreements and accords which they are parts to.

Ovcharov, USSR's Panichev Sign Economic Protocol

AU1305203089 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 13 May 89

[Text] The protocol signed in Sofia today by Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of economy and planning, and Nikolay Panichev, minister of the machine tool and tool building industry of the USSR, marks a new stage in the development of cooperation in machine building between the two countries.

The document reflects the results of an in-depth analysis made of the state of the work of the Soviet-Bulgarian Trusts Ivanovo-ZMM [ZMM expansion: Metal-Cutting Machines Plant, located in Sofia] and Krasniy Proletariy-Beroe, as well as the tasks they have been set for mastering new types of robot equipment.

In the talks and the protocol, attention was given to expanding and deepening the cooperation in manufacturing new machine-building products.

The Soviet guest, who was on a 4-day working visit to Bulgaria at the head of a delegation, visited the Plovdiv International Fair and machine-building plants in Plovdiv and Stara Zagora. He was received by Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations.

Ovcharov Interviewed on State Revenues Law

AU1205200489 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 May 89 p 2

[Interview with "Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of planning and economy, on the draft law on collecting the state revenues" by unnamed RABOTNICHESKO DELO representative—date, place not given]

[Text] [RABOTNICHESKO DELO] What new and progressive elements, or, what is especially important, what more democratic elements does this law propose, as compared to the legal act that is being repealed?

[Ovcharov] The new law introduces the democratic voluntary principle for paying state revenues. The rate of interest for late payments is cut from 0.05 percent to 0.03 percent per day, which alleviates the burden on the persons liable. The law provides more favorable conditions for payment by installments or postponing payment of state revenues in cases where physical or legal persons have fallen into temporary material difficulties.

The law alleviates and simplifies the procedures for collecting state revenues. Through the law, concessions are introduced for payment of state revenues, allowing payment to be made in person, by postal order, deposit payment, transfers, and all other possible legal forms of payment. In addition, tax certificates are abolished, being replaced by citizens' declarations. The procedure for collection and for protection of citizens' subjective rights, including by court action, is also made easier.

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] One of the most hotly disputed points in the discussion of the law is the problem of the period of limitation for state revenues. Do you think that it is sufficiently democratic that these receipts should remain due for an unlimited period, when the law prescribes a period of limitation even for the death penalty? Do you not consider that the period of limitation provides an incentive not for the taxpayers, but for the bureaucratic official apparatus empowered to collect the revenues?

[Ovcharov] This issue is resolved in different ways in individual countries. It is connected not only with the specific nature of socioeconomic relations, but also with the characteristic features of the legislation that regulates these relations.

The specialists are divided in their views on this issue. Both sides put forward well-grounded and well-argued explanations. The discussions resulted in the view prevailing that a law of limitations should not be applied to state revenues. The chief consideration here is that such a period of limitation would be exploited most of all by the unscrupulous payers, because in principle conscientious people will not wait until the period for voluntary payment of their obligations has expired. In addition, in the event of material difficulty, people liable to pay may apply for payment of their liabilities to made in installments, postponed, or even to be canceled, which is the legal prerogative of the State Council. In this manner, the rights of conscientious citizens are guaranteed.

As a further consideration, the proviso was adopted that if special conditions for state revenues with regard to a period of limitation are provided by other laws, then special conditions are applied in the specific case.

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] To which revenues will the law be applied? If, for example, the scholarship holder does not fulfill his liabilities under the agreement, will they be collected under this law?

[Ovcharov] This law will be applied to the state revenues that are listed in it. Regarding the specific example given in your question, when a scholarship holder fails to fulfill his liability under the agreement, then this liability will be collected from him as a state revenue in accordance with the procedure of the present law.

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] What is the connection between the Law on Collecting State Revenues and the Law on the State's Responsibility for Damage Caused to Citizens? Will the existence of the two laws place the citizen on a sufficiently equal footing with the state? It is well-known that, at least at the present, the state's revenues are better protected than the receipts of the citizens.

[Ovcharov] The natural link between the two laws is the process of democratizing and further improving the legal acts, which in essence is the distinguishing feature of the whole of our legislation. The interests of the state are protected through the adopted Law on Collecting State Revenues, but at the same time it should be stressed that the rights of the citizens regarding their receipts are also guaranteed by the law's provisions, which are implemented according to the Code of Civil Procedure.

One should not regard the equality of the citizens and the state as an absolute principle, since one should bear in mind that public interests, that is, the interests of the people, are reflected in the actions of the socialist state organs. In this sense, as far as inequality exists, it is caused by the lack of coincidence between individual and public interests, but this in no event gives rise to inequality before the law between the parties involved in the procedure for collecting state revenues. The laws and obligations of the citizens and the state organs are clearly and categorically set out in the relevant provisions of the law, and their protection and implementation is ensured by law.

Joint CSSR-Hungarian Dam Project Suspended

Hungary Violating Treaty

LD1505120189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 15 May 89

[From the "Echoes of the Day" program presented by Vladimir Kolaja]

[Text] [Kolaja] At a special meeting today, the Presidium of the Slovak Socialist Republic Government discussed the situation that has arisen as a result of the Hungarian Government's decision to interrupt the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros dam. The government's stand is reported by Vojtech Krestanko, the government's press secretary:

[Begin Krestanko recording in Slovak] The Slovak Government Presidium has expressed surprise at the serious decision made by the Hungarian People's Republic, precisely because the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros dam is, in line with the relevant international agreement, a joint Czechoslovak-Hungarian project. Preparations for the project took more than 20 years. Both Hungarian and Czechoslovak project engineers—as well as scientists from both states—actively participated in the preparation, during which both sides made use of international consultation. In the case of the construction of the Nagymaros section, the Hungarian side carefully consulted Soviet, Austrian, French, and other foreign experts.

We are surprised by this step taken by the Hungarian Government, particularly because an agreement was signed at its own initiative last year between the CSSR and the Hungarian People's Republic to speed up the construction of the dam. The decision to halt the Nagymaros project devalues the idea behind the entire system of dams, which will be reflected in large economic losses for both states.

The CSSR will suffer the biggest losses. It is no secret that, in view of the technical demands the construction poses, Czechoslovak construction enterprises have been compelled to purchase a considerable amount of construction machinery and equipment from Western companies, which has increased the financial demands this construction project has generated. Its real effect can only be realized if the existing concept of both sections of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros project is maintained.

The unilateral step taken by the Hungarian Government, although the government is fully entitled to make decisions on matters concerning its own territory, is at variance with the valid Czechoslovak-Hungarian treaty and international law.

Therefore, the Slovak Socialist Republic Government Presidium, proceeding from the law on the Czechoslovak federation, has appealed to the federal government to speedily take the necessary steps to ensure that the valid international treaty between the CSSR and the Hungarian People's Republic is observed and to demand that the Hungarian People's Republic implement it consistently.

At the same time, the Slovak Socialist Republic Government has appealed to the construction and supply organizations working on the Czechoslovak section of the Gabcikovo system of dams to continue to carry out their normal tasks so as to ensure that the first part of the Gabcikovo dam goes into operation on 1 July 1990, in line with the construction timetable. [end recording]

Ambassador Briefed on Suspension

LD1305194289 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1800 GMT 13 May 89

[Text] At 1830 today Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn invited CSSR Ambassador Vlastimil Ehrenberger and the Austrian ambassador into his office to inform both diplomats about today's session and decision of the Hungarian Government. Both ambassadors were informed that the government has decided to immediately suspend all work on the Hungarian Danube water project in Nagymaros after considering all viewpoints for 2 months. He said further that with the participation of neutral experts the government will once more evaluate all ecological, geological, and seismological circumstances of the construction work. The results will be put before parliament which is authorized to decide on the further progress of the construction project.

According to foreign agencies, Hungary would have to pay Czechoslovakia alone about $500 million for the unilateral violation of existing international agreements.

Decision To Affect Relations

LD1405191789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1818 GMT 14 May 89

["New Cooling of Prague-Budapest Relations"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Prague, May 14 (TANJUG)—Czechoslovak-Hungarian relations have dropped another degree after Budapest yesterday announced a two-month suspension of work on the large hydro-power system Gabcikovo-Nagymaros on the Danube, despite a recently signed agreement on accelerating works on the joint project.

A Czechoslovak Government spokesman briefly commented the announcement by saying that "the agreement is in force which indicates that work on the Czechoslovak side will continue until the Hungrian parliament has taken a final decision on the issue. [no close quotation mark as received]

Czechoslovak Television made a brief mention of the Hungarian Government's decision, saying that it would return to the problem, which implies that comments are being prepared in Prague.

Budapest has suspended work on the project until a group of neutral experts has determined the truth of the Hungarian ecological movement's claim that the hydropower system is a serious threat to environment.

Relations between Czechoslovakia and Hungary began to cool when Budapest Television broadcast an interview with former Czechoslovak party leader Alexander Dubcek, whose 1968 policy Prague continues to condemn.

Soviet Defense Minister Yazov Concludes Visit

Tours Military College

LD1205115689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Army General Dmitriy Yazov, USSR defense minister, as part of his official friendly visit to Czechoslovakia today visited the south Moravian region. The guest and his entourage were welcomed at the Ground Forces Military College in Vyskov by Army General Ludvik Svoboda, three times hero of Czechoslovakia and a hero of the USSR.

After the two fraternal countries' anthems were played, he inspected the honor guard and saluted the flag of the college, which has been awarded the Order of the Republic and the Order of the Red Star.

During an inspection of the training base, he learned about the system for and method of training young commanders for the Czechoslovak People's Army. He saw, among other things, drill by tan operators and the firing of live ammunition by tanks and artillery.

Yazov Departs for Home

LD1305145389 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1400 GMT 13 May 89

[Text] Army General Dmitriy Yazov, USSR minister of defense, has ended his 4-day official and friendly visit to Czechoslovakia and left for the Soviet Union.

He was received today in Bratislava by Ignac Janak, member of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee and first secretary of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee. In the conversation they agreed that the process of restructuring in both fraternal countries also concerns the armed forces preparation. They also evaluated current questions of the international military-political situation.

Dmitriy Yazov today met for closing talks with Army General Milan Vaclavik, minister of national defense. In honor of the Soviet guest a gala luncheon was hosted in Bratislava by Slovak Premier Ivan Knotek. In speeches both representatives expressed interest in further deepening all-around Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation.

Yazov Interviewed on Visit

LD1305192189 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 13 May 89

[Interview with USSR Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov with news editor Ivan Miertan; Yazov speaks in Russian with superimposed Slovak translation; date, place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Miertan] Comrade Minister, at the end of visits it is usual to evaluate their aims and goals. How do you evaluate the results of the visit by your military delegation to our country?

[Yazov] We came to Czechoslovakia at the invitation of your minister of defense, Army General Milan Vaclavik, with the aim of becoming acquainted with the life and everyday combat training of members of the Czechoslovak people's Army. We visited units of the Western military district; we were invited to the Military Academy in Vyskov, and they showed us modern training machine technology and training for tank drivers and live firing of these battle vehicles and artillery. I must say that despite the high battle readiness of our Army there were things we could learn. The main goal of our visit, then, was exchange of experiences. Apart from this here in your country the central group of our forces is deployed. We were therefore interested in how they coordinate their activity and how they cooperate with the Czechoslovak Army. As we saw, the level of cooperation is very high.

For me, personally, this visit was all the more pleasant because I worked here in Czechoslovakia, as the commander of the already mentioned Central Group of Soviet Forces in 1979-1980. My impressions: Everything is blooming here. During May we remember together the significant anniversary that links our nations and brings them closer. For us the day of victory is 9 May, for them it is the day of liberation. Together we honored the memory of those who laid down their lives for this great day, the memory of our and your soldiers. We also visited some of your enterprises and the agricultural combine, Slusovice. All this left a great impression on us.

[Miertan] Let us now look at some of the important current aspects of the present disarmament talks. Within their complex is also the unilateral reduction in the Soviet Armed Forces in the countries of Eastern Europe. Precisely today, for example, the transfer of the motorized battalion of the Central Group of Soviet Forces form Olomouc back to the Soviet Union began. How do you evaluate this process?

[Yazov] Naturally, cooperation between our fraternal parties, states, nations, and armies always had and will have as its point of departure the content of the words: building socialism. Above all, we would all jointly like to see above all peaceful socialism. Only during peaceful existence can we show its possibilities, its creative potential, to the full extent. I will put it even more simply. Only with peaceful existence and gradual disarmament can we build socialism which is worthy of its name, a system which gives a chance to fully implement the potential talent, capabilities, initiative, and creativity of the people and all of society.

The withdrawal of Soviet forces is a well-thought-out step. It comes from the logic of new political thinking, from the priority of all-human values and our joint effort to replace the word confrontation with the word cooperation in relations between East and West. At the same time, however, we must not forget that precisely at this time when the numbers of the armies of socialist countries are being reduced, vigilance and the reliability of the system of our defense must be increased. This responsibility is borne by us all. Look, many speculate that our present foreign-political line is not just temporary, that is, they cast doubt on the results and success of restructuring. But in our country, and as I saw also in yours, it is gaining tempo and new dimensions. Naturally, it is not without problems and shortcomings, they do exist. But we are fighting them precisely in the process of restructuring.

[Miertan] Comrade Minister, you recalled some doubts which are so often spoken of in the West. Some observers allege that these are causing the excessive caution of the new U.S. Government in the disarmament talks with the Soviet Union. U.S. Secretary of State James Baker recently ended his first visit to the Soviet Union. During the time of his talks in Moscow, Mikhail Gorbachev came forward with a new peace initiative concerning the unilateral withdrawal of 500 tactical nuclear warheads from the territory of the allies of the Soviet Union within the Warsaw Pact. What is your opinion of this further disarmament proposal?

[Yazov] I think that similar steps in disarmament will also be taken by the Soviet Union in the future. Of course, not ad infinitum. Why I am saying not ad infinitum? It is because whatever we offer to the U.S. and NATO, they look at our every proposal for a very long time and generally will not accept it. They look first for every possible gain they can get from these proposals, gain just for themselves, that is. Within NATO there is an argument regarding the modernization of tactical nuclear missiles. Nevertheless, at the same time, it is known in Washington that according to the treaty on elimination of two types of nuclear missiles, the Soviet Union eliminates also missiles classified as AK, with the range up to 500 km. NATO, though, considers the possibility of the modernization of Lance missiles exactly of the same range. Where is the logic then? We eliminate our weapons and they develop new ones. One should think that in signing the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, the Americans have simply deceived us. A similar statement could seem undiplomatic, but facts are facts. I am mostly drawing on them when I state that we are not going to take steps in unilateral disarmament ad infinitum if we are not going to have a partner.

I do remember that George Bush very often speaks about his policy as one that continues the policy of Ronald Reagan. Nevertheless, as was shown by his latest statements as well as statements by U.S. Defense Secretary Cheney, the continuity is there only regarding the former attitude by Reagan that all questions linked with the Soviet Union will be dealt with by the United States from the position of strength.

By the way, according to my view, Baker's visit to Moscow also confirmed that Washington would in the future strive for unilateral concessions from our side, to be achieved through tactics, pressure, and rigidity.

But I ask once again, where is the logic here? On one side, the Americans and NATO cry that we are stronger, that we threaten them, that we have superiority in these and those weapons. On the other hand, they hold talks with us from the position of strength. Details from the first round of talks held by James Baker with Eduard Shevardnadze and Mikhail Gorbachev will be available to me only at home. Only there we will be able to more precisely assess the talks' results. Let me allow at the end to thank for cordial and sincere welcome of our entire Army delegation in Czechoslovakia.

Withdrawal of Soviet Transport Battalion Begins

LD1305085489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0800 GMT 13 May 89

[Text] The withdrawal of the motor transport battalion of the central group of Soviet forces from our territory began in Olomouc today. This step is fully in harmony with the decision of the Soviet Government which was approved by the Warsaw Pact member states. It is also a part of the measures for a unilateral reduction of the number of Soviet Armed Forces as stated by Mikhail Gorbachev last December at the United Nations.

The soldiers were seen off at the barracks by Major General Anatoliy Zuyev, representative of the command of the Central Group of Soviet Forces in Czechoslovakia, by representatives of the North Moravian region and of the town of Olomouc. The young pioneers from Frantisek Zubka school also came to see off their comrades. After a short meeting and a festive march, the members of the motor transport battalion entered their vehicles and shortly before 0900 the 11-km-long convoy set out for the eastern border of Czechoslovakia.

Bush Administration Fears 'Third Zero' Proposal

AU1205095189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 May 89 p 6

[Zdenek Porybny Washington dispatch in the "Note" column: "Reconciling the Irreconcilables..."]

[Text] Margaret Tutweiler, spokesman of the U.S. Department of State, has confirmed her government's firmly negative stand on the West German proposal to open negotiations with the Warsaw Pact on tactical nuclear missiles in Europe. However, THE NEW YORK TIMES indicates that the Bush government wants to make use of the slightly less than 4 weeks remaining until the NATO summit to work out some kind of compromise, which would satisfy the West German demand, while at the same time retaining the unchanged plan to exchange Lance missiles for nuclear missiles with a far greater range and effect.

Supposedly, the main condition of this compromise is NATO's agreement on the modernization of missiles. Only then could the missile strengths and the nuclear artillery ammunition, which has become outdated anyway, be slightly and unilaterally reduced and the Soviet Union asked to reduce the number of its tactical nuclear missiles.

However, the American proposal cited by THE NEW YORK TIMES does not even mention opening negotiations with the Warsaw Pact. In other words, Washington would like to force Bonn to agree to the modernization of missiles in exchange for the promise that at some time in the future one could perhaps also start reducing them—but without any negotiations with the Warsaw Pact.

Actually, the Bush government fears that as soon as the NATO-Warsaw Pact negotiations on tactical nuclear missiles in Europe are opened, one of the partners would come out with a proposal for a "third zero," i.e. for the elimination of all missiles, both Soviet and American, including the modernized ones.

The question is whether such an obviously imbalanced compromise would satisfy the FRG public as well as the public of the European countries of NATO.

Pentagon Plans Said To Include SDI for Attack

AU0805145389 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 3 May 89 p 5

[Jozef Janto commentary in the "Word on the Events" column: "Insidious 'Pupiform Insects'"]

[Text] At a time when not only Europe, but all nations on earth are hoping that the danger that threatens mankind as a result of nuclear weapons will be averted, when some of these dangerous combat devices (shorter- and medium-range missiles) are already being eliminated, when negotiations are under way to cut down the strengths of strategic nuclear arms by 50 percent, when negotiations have been opened in Vienna on conventional disarmament... at such a time the new plans hatched by the Pentagon cannot be called anything but insidious, insidious with regard to human civilization.

What is it all about?

The West German weekly DER SPIEGEL and, a few days ago, the DEUTSCHE PRESSE AGENTUR [DPA], published an article stating that "U.S. Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney has given the SDI military research program ('Star Wars' program) a new orientation." The new project, allegedly based on miniaturized computer chips and "other most modern military products," was born in the Lawrence Livermore Institute in California from plans worked out by Edward Teller's pupil Lowell Wood. Essentially, the project proceeds from the idea that in a few years' time (roughly by 1995), that means after the development is completed "within 2 years, some 10,000-100,000 small superfast missiles, 1 meter long, weighing 50 kilograms, and 40 centimeters in diameter, could already be revolving around the Earth." Moreover, this new, so-called defense concept named Brilliant Pebbles [English term used, followed by Czech translation], would be "very cheap": According to James Abrahamson, former director of the SDI program, it would cost merely $10 billion; this is allegedly far cheaper than any other rival project within the framework of the SDI (Phase I), which was estimated at $150 billion and which included 150 strike satellites each with 10 "interceptor" missiles.

These so-called Brilliant Pebbles would be launched into orbit by missile carriers, and would remain "parked" in space for up to 10 years. In critical situations these "pupiform insects" would awaken from their "sleep" and, with a velocity of 10,000 meters per second (i.e. ten times the velocity of a bullet from a gun) would allegedly destroy "at least one third of 4,700 hostile missiles".

Both the California institute and the armament firms are overjoyed—this project would provide the military-industrial complex with new opportunities for making profit. True, one can also hear voices raised in doubt; but some of them merely ask that the Brilliant Pebbles be further improved, and that the institutes and firms of the military-industrial complex be allowed to continue pursuing and implementing various ideas. For instance, the experts say that Brilliant Pebbles need a Life Jacket (to survive nuclear radiation), effective sensors to find precise thermal bearings of hostile missiles, a supercomputer for targeting purposes which could be squeezed onto a few chips, etc.

And what about space research? The fact is that, inter alia, those "Brilliant Pebbles" could bring about the destruction of a space shuttle on its way into orbit. However, here too the experts are ready with an "answer": One would have to keep them "under control for every second of the time." True, these experts also know that a missile attack on the United States is not one of the Soviet Union's goals, and they are familiar with the Soviet initiative to eliminate all nuclear arms by the year 2000, including intercontinental strategic missiles. But for this they have no ready answer. On the contrary, they are currently striving to modernize tactical nuclear devices (with a range of up to 500 km), although the Warsaw Pact member states have also proposed to immediately open talks on tactical nuclear weapons, side by side with the current talks on conventional disarmament from the Atlantic up to the Urals. But the experts are still stubbornly pushing through their own aims, even though several NATO states (such as the FRG, Norway, Belgium, Holland, and Denmark) have stated that they are in favor of this sensible alternative.

It is impossible to say that the plans harbored by the Pentagon and by the institutions of the military-industrial complex related to it are anything other than war-oriented thinking and insidiousness. "This new brainchild of the SDI planners," DER SPIEGEL writes, "will inevitably have a most destabilizing influence on the balance between the superpowers." It goes on to say that, "in their enthusiasm for a war of miniaturized missiles, the Pentagon strategists have indicated that Brilliant Pebbles could be used not only for defensive, but also for offensive purposes, for a surprise attack." What can one add to this—Washington is not concerned with "defense," it is intent on an attack with the most surprising element ever...

CPCZ Presidium Discusses Party Issues, Tasks

LD1205170689 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1200 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] The Presidium of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee decided today to convene the 14th party Central Committee session on scientific and technical progress and the advancement of the machinery-building industry for 14-15 June.

It discussed and approved the balance-sheet and analysis of party administration last year. It noted that the income, in which membership contributions form a key share, will fully cover any political and organizational activity by the party. It decided to transfer Kcs 1 million from last year's surplus for financing technological equipment for the RUDE PRAVO printers in Prague.

It acknowledged the information on the preparation of the 131st session of the CEMA Executive Committee which is scheduled to take place 16-18 May in Moscow to prepare the 45th CEMA session.

The Presidium approved sending a party Central Committee delegation to the international meeting of Central Committee Secretaries of Communist and Workers Parties of Socialist Countries Responsible for Political Work. The meeting is to take place 6-8 June in Havana. The delegation will be headed by the chairman of the committee for party work in the Czech Socialist Republic.

The presidium also discussed the activity of young communists in the Socialist Youth Union. It noted that young people respond strongly to restructuring and the democratization of society. This was shown by the annual membership meetings and conferences of the union and of the workers of the Pioneer organization.

It praised the public discussion about the Socialist Youth Union document— Our Program: Restructuring and Democratization—and the bill on the state policy of care for children and young people.

The Presidium emphasized that social development requires a new outlook on the direction of the work of the union, the reinforcement of its influence on the young generation and on enhancing its active, constructive contribution to the creation, implementation, and control of the policy of our socialist state.

It also acknowledged the information on the preparation of the bill on the Czechoslovak State bank which follows from the overall effort on restructuring of the Czechoslovak economic mechanism. The bill presupposes a significant reinforcement of the bank's currency operations and its influence on currency movement and on credit and foreign currency policy.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium acknowledged the information on the participation of an official Czechoslovak delegation in the celebrations of the 11th anniversary of the national and democratic april revolution in Kabul on 26-27 April.

Government Adopts Package of Economic Measures

LD1105212189 Prague CTK in English 1544 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] Prague May 11 (CTK)—At its session today the Czechoslovak Federal Government adopted a package of measures aimed at strengthening economic balance and improving overall economic development this year.

After an extensive debate it decided to temporarily halt the start of all construction projects between May 15 and December 31, 1989, with the exception of projects falling under the adopted ecological program, comprehensive housing construction and public projects to be built by the citizens themselves.

The government took note of the course of work on drafting a long-term outlook of Czechoslovakia's development until 2005 and a guideline for preparing the 9th five-year plan (1991-95), and decided to discuss the two documents at a separate session.

The government asked the deputy premiers and ministers to ensure the realization of measures under which projects under construction that do not reach the designed parametres will have to do so by 1990 or will be used for other purposes.

In connection with preparations for the forthcoming 131st session of the CMEA executive Committee, the government discussed Czechoslovakia's activities in the new conditions of the organization's work.

With the government's consent, the Czechoslovak Airlines Company will lease two Airbus 310-300 planes. At the same time it decided to discuss with Soviet partners the possibility of buying two TU-154 AM planes in addition to the number planned for the 8th five-year plan period (1986-90) and to negotiate the delivery of one Il-96-300 and five TU-334 planes for the 9th five-year plan period (1991-95).

The government discussed also results of a control of the construction of the Forum Hotel in Prague, carried out by the Committee of People's Control, which revealed a number of cases of thriftlessness owing to the one-sided orientation of the Czechoslovak Strojexport [as received] foreign trade corporation towards the Austrian Warimpex [as received] mediating organization. It decided that measures be taken to prevent similar shortcomings in the future.

The government also heard a report on the results of nuclear safety control at Czechoslovak installations last year. According to the report nuclear safety was satisfactorily ensured. There was no leak of radioactive substances into the living environment above limits nor a situation that could lead to such a leak. The radiation situation in the country is normal and stable.

Leaders Attend 'Prague Spring' Concert

LD1205203489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1900 GMT 12 May 89

[Excerpt] The international "Prague Spring" music festival got under way this evening at the Palace of Culture, as is the tradition, with Bedrich Smetana's cycle of symphonic poems "Ma Vlast." The places of honor in the Congress Hall were occupied by President Gustav Husak, who is patron of the festival; Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec; Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Presidium members Alois Indra, Frantisek Pitra, Miroslav Stepan, and Karel Urbanek; Josef Haman, candidate member of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee; and other figures from our political, public, and cultural life. [passage omitted]

Jakes Receives New Romanian Ambassador

LD1105141289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] Today in Prague Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, received Georghe Homostean, the new Romanian ambassador, in connection with his taking up his diplomatic post. They analyzed some issues of mutual relations and preparations for the coming working visit to Czechoslovakia by Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of Romania.

Adamec Speaks on Restructuring in South Moravia

LD0405211489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 4 May 89

[Excerpts] Ladislav Adamec, member of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee and federal premier, was on a working visit in the South Moravian region, where he visited the Jihlava District. Miroslav Ditrich reports on the course of the visit:

[Ditrich] [Passage omitted] In the afternoon the federal premier attended a political and economic aktiv of the south Moravian region in Vetrny Jenikov, near Jihlava. He spoke in particular about topical questions of the restructuring of the economic mechanism. He stressed that we will not change the economic situation by merely changing the system of management, and that a fundamental structural rebuilding of our economy is essential. We regard this question as the key link in mastering the tasks set for the first half of the nineties, and the successful transition to the third milleneum, Ladislav Adamec recalled. He continued:

[Begin Adamec recording] Our priority orientation is to have an energy- and material-saving and ecologically purer economy. We have already made our first steps to rectify matters in the ecological sector. We are focusing on the close cooperation between states, including those in the European region, and for this purpose we are preparing a conference at the level of prime ministers of the neighboring states. We are giving priority to construction projects for the protection of the water and air. We are considering the development of ecological engineering. We have made a decision on the gasification of Prague and the North Bohemian region. In these, the most threatened areas, we will reduce the burning of coal and provide for a central generation and distribution of heat, and we are working on the gradual desulphurization of large power blocks.

From this it can be seen how complicated and far-reaching this decision will be, and how deeply it will affect the existing production structure and the life of our collectives. It is true that the decisions about these unpopular matters were put off for a long time. Today, however, there is no longer time for delays and temporizing. The later we take action, the more expensive and difficult it will be. We will not take such actions without, however, involving people. On the contrary, we want to inform the public about them in detail in a report on the economic situation which we will submit to the Federal Assembly in June this year. [end recording]

[Ditrich] Comrade Adamec went on to recall that an exceptional opportunity has arisen now for the development of perspective branches in connection with the limitation of military equipment. In a discussion with the participants in the aktiv, Comrade Adamec answered a number of questions concerning problems facing the region and topical qeustions concerning the restructuring of our economy.

Adamec Meets Chairman of Council of Churches

AU1005151989 Prague CTK in English
1502 GMT 10 May 89

[Text] Prague, May 10 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec today received chairman of the Ecumenical Council of Churches, synodical senior of the Evangelical Church of Czech Brethern Josef Hromadka.

Josef Hromadka informed the premier of the activity of the Ecumenical Council of Churches and ensured him of support of Czechoslovak churches for the process of restructuring.

Ladislav Adamec emphasized that the government wants to have good relations with all churches and to solve real problems by means of open dialogue.

Adamec Receives Vienna Mayor Helmut Zilk

LD1005222289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1630 GMT 10 May 89

[Text] Today federal Premier Ladislav Adamec received in Hrzan Palace in Prague Helmut Zilk, mayor of Vienna and governor of the province of Vienna.

He acquainted him with the process of social restructuring in Czechoslovakia, with the transition to [words indistinct] in self-financing, and [words indistinct]. The two politicians exchanged views on opportunities for developing cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Austria in economics, environmental protection, and joint enterprises—among other things in tourism. In this connection they discussed transport facilities between the two countries, which must be improved and accelerated, the possibility of setting up joint travel agencies, joint advertising on third markets, and other suggestions. They agreed that our two countries enjoy very good prerequisites for the further, more extensive development of good-neighborly relations.

Vienna Mayor Says Havel May Be Released Early

AU1305174589 Vienna NEUE AZ in German
13 May 89 p 7

["e.g." report: "Hope for Havel: Will He Be Released Early?"]

[Text] Vienna—Vienna Mayor Helmut Zilk has brought a glimmer of hope for Vaclav Havel, imprisoned writer, civil rights activist, and co-initiator of Charter 77, home from his trip to Prague. CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec said during their talks that the issue might be solved now that Havel has served half of his sentence. In other words: He might be released early. According to Zilk, Adamec also said that "all sides" have to "learn" because there are now new forms of discussion and confrontation.

Vaclav Havel was convicted because he participated in demonstrations on the 20th anniversary of the suicide of student Jan Palach who set himself on fire in Prague.

Slapka Addresses Slovak Central Committee

LD1105135789 Prague CTK in English
1243 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] Bratislava May 11 (CTK)—In harmony with implementation of the 17th Czechoslovak Communist Party Congress resolution on an increase of the number of secondary-school and university graduates by 50 per cent by the year 2000, the number of secondary-school students in Slovakia will reach 53 per cent of the demographic group in 2000, and the number of students admitted to universities will increase from the current 15.5 per cent to 18, Presidium member and secretary of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee Gejza Slapka said here today.

Addressing a Slovak Communist Party Central Committee session dealing with a Slovak Presidium report on the role of the system of education under restructuring in Slovakia, Gejza Slapka pointed out Czechoslovakia's attention devoted to the work of the nationality educational system, and spoke about changes to be carried out in the Slovak system of education in the next few years.

'Cordial, Friendly' Talks Held With Khalaf

AU0905203689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
5 May 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Receiving a Palestinian Guest"]

[Text] Prague—Jozef Lenart, member of the Central Committee Presidium and secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, received Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad), head of the PLO's United Security Section and member of the Fatah Political Bureau, who is in the CSSR on an official visit.

During their cordial and friendly talk the two representatives exchanged views on matters linked with the contemporary international development, on the state and prospects of the situation in the area of the Middle East, and also on the possibilities of further developing Czechoslovak-Palestinian relations.

The reception was also attended by Frantisek Kincl, CSSR minister of interior, and by Samih 'Abd al-Fattah, ambassador of the State of Palestine to the CSSR.

—On the same day the guest was received by Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes. They exchanged views on the development of the situation in the Middle East and on paths leading to its just, peaceful settlement.

Honecker Discusses Issues at Youth Meeting

Speech to Gathering

LD1205155389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1229 GMT 12 May 89

["Speech by Erich Honecker opening the Free German Youth meeting on the occasion of Whitsun"—ADN headline; ADN notes that "the oral version is the authorized version"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The text of the speech by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR Council of State, at the rally to open the "Free German Youth [FDJ] Whitsun Meeting" this evening in Marx-Engels-Platz, Berlin, is as follows:

I welcome you very warmly and with great pleasure on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the Council of Ministers, and the Council of State to this powerful joyful rally to open the FDJ Whitsun meeting.

Your rally in this historical square in the capital, Berlin, is a convincing declaration of support by GDR youth for peace and socialism. It is—I can say this with all my heart—a declaration of support by the delegates of GDR youth for our party, the SED, the party of innovators and the party of youth; a party whose every action is guided by the immortal teachings of the great German theorists Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, by the insights of Vladimir Ilich Lenin, who defended their teachings and continued to resourcefully develop them. It is guided by the values of socialism, to which the future of mankind belongs.

Yes, dear friends, with your rally you are sending at this festive hour a clear signal for the victorious nature of socialism in the heart of Europe, for peace and anti-imperialist solidarity.

Only a few days ago, our people—including 1.7 million young voters, some 600,000 of whom were first-time voters—(?gave an) impressive and clear vote for the policy of our party, for the policy of our (?workers) and peasants state, a decision of historic importance in a stormy time such as the present.

Here in this square, in view of this huge rally of the younger generation, I can say: In contrast to much speculation in the West, we were deeply convinced that on the basis of our own experiences our people could come only to one decision, the one made during the elections. Our party and our government will naturally do everything to work together with the forces united in the National Front to ensure that the electoral program of the GDR National Front is implemented in every respect, in the interests of the people's welfare. We are thus at the same time fulfilling the decisions of the 11th SED Congress and, dear friends, there is no one in the world who can stop us from successfully continuing the great revolutionary process of transformation in the first socialist state in the German nation.

We all know that the workers, farmers, members of the intelligentsia, and the younger generation of the country have covered a path of diligent work and determined struggle. In the 40th anniversary year of the existence of the GDR we can proudly note that all our efforts have been worthwhile. Socialism has irrevocably taken hold on German soil with the development of our republic as a socialist state of workers and peasants. We will jointly ensure that things will continue in this way. We are ready to work and defend peace.

You, dear friends, have already taken on the work of those who, in October 1949 on the occasion of Wilhelm Pieck's election as president of the republic here in Unter den Linden, pledged themselves to this republic—because it is a republic of the workers, a republic of youth. Thanks to the active work of our people, the active work of youngsters, our republic has changed completely.

All that exists today in our state and which the whole world can see has been built on the ruins of World War II. You have helped to create it and will bear the banner of the socialist revolution across the threshold of the year 2000.

We can note with pride that our republic is among the 10 industrialized nations of the world that are rapidly mastering the challenges of the scientific-technical revolution. We have linked to this the advantages of socialism and shown that, in line with the Schwedt Initiative, we are day by day creating more with fewer labor resources. In our country there are no unemployed; in our country the scientific-technical revolution is being carried out against the background of full employment. The best aspect of this is that in our country people can also buy something as a result of their performance and with their pay, and that the time will soon come when a modern apartment will be at the disposal of every young person who starts a family.

Yes, dear friends, socialism, for which we have struggled so long, for which the German workers movement made so many sacrifices in the fight against fascism and war, is developing successfully and on a firm foundation in the GDR. It is proving itself a stable pillar of peace in the heart of Europe. Naturally, we are not calling a halt to what we have achieved. Our industrial and agricultural development, our scientific potential, and our close cooperation with the Soviet Union, the Polish People's Republic, the CSSR, and the other socialist countries allows us to continue to advance step by step. Thus, the prosperity of the people will gain a dimension which some can hardly imagine today.

You, dear friends, with your upright attitude the ideas and values of socialism, are a living guarantee that what has been created can no longer be destroyed by those people in the world who have not yet placed their weight on the side of peace and cooperation, on the side of disarmament. We are not alone in the world. We have powerful allies. We have them in the Soviet Union, the PRC, the People's Republic of Poland, the CSSR, the other socialist countries, as well as in those states in the West which are acting to avert a nuclear inferno, which are acting to ban war forever from the life of mankind.

We bear in mind that there are people in this world who wish, after the beginning of nuclear disarmament, by means of the modernization of whole weapons systems to reverse the peace process which was initiated on the great initiative of the Soviet Union, by the Warsaw Treaty states, and through the great international activity of Mikhail Gorbachev. The new initiative set out by the Soviet Union, in consultation with the other states of the Warsaw Treaty, to withdraw by 1991 all tactical nuclear weapons from the territory of the allied states—if the United States also takes a similar step—the announcement concerning the unilateral withdrawal of 500 nuclear warheads from this territory, and the other proposals on the radical reduction of arms and armed forces speak for themselves and have our undivided support.

It is our firm conviction that we will succeed in making this disarmament process irreversible because we commit our whole strength toward making socialism stronger and toward conducting a dialogue with everyone in the world who is prepared, as we are, to defend peace and to clear the way for disarmament, both in the nuclear and the conventional area.

In accomplishing these tasks we should not allow ourselves to be put off for one moment by the fact that development in one socialist country or another is taking place in different ways. This is a result in any case of differing national conditions. The socialist social order is still young. At the moment it finds itself in the midst of a great restructuring in the Soviet Union and in several other socialist countries. In spite of the prophecies of doom from people who understand nothing, nothing at all about the development laws of human society, who would like most of all to carry socialism to its grave, the world—this is the unalterable fact—is not turning in the direction of capitalism but in the direction of socialism.

The Free German Youth organization has always proven itself to be a reliable comrade in the struggle for our party, the party of Ernst Thaelmann, Wilhelm Pieck, Otto Grotewohl, and Walter Ulbricht. It will also prove itself to be so in the future. Youth is an active partner in shaping developed socialist society in our country, in shaping a new Germany. It will complete the work of socialism on German soil, this noble work of creative labor for the well-being of the people and for the happiness of mankind, for a secure peace.

'Dialogue' With Youth

LD1305144889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1348 GMT 13 May 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, assessed an exchange of thoughts with 200 delegates of the national Whitsun Meeting of the Free German Youth [FDJ] on Saturday in Berlin as very useful for future SED activity. He stressed that the dialogue is evidence yet again that SED policies enjoy the agreement of the young generation.

During the exchange of opinion on questions of domestic and foreign policy, Erich Honecker recalled that it was the Soviet power which committed itself at the end of World War I already to understanding between peoples and a peaceful future by means of the decree on peace. At present it is again a concern of the USSR to achieve disarmament and peace, to secure the existence of mankind. The general secretary explained to the youngsters the most recent proposals from the Soviet Union and Mikhail Gorbachev, which have the complete agreement of the GDR. There are however forces in the West which intend to undermine these comprehensive disarmament initiatives and to stop the process which has commenced. The slogan "Now more than ever!" is valid even more now when attempts are being made to revise the first significant disarmament success by means of the so-called modernization of nuclear weapons.

The close cooperation between the socialist countries is necessary for further successes in disarmament, as is the continuation of political dialogue between states with differing social orders, Erich Honecker said. The GDR is a cornerstone in central Europe in these efforts to consolidate peace. [passage omitted]

The most important thing is the solution of the main issue, the securing of peace, the prevention of a nuclear inferno, and the securing of the continued existence of mankind, Erich Honecker said. The first agreement on disarmament in the nuclear sphere, on the removal of medium-range weapons, has aroused great hopes.

On the basis of the success of these disarmament measures, there are nevertheless also considerable elements emerging who are trying to prevent the continuation of the disarmament process and to introduce a new process of arming under the slogan of "modernization." We must take cognizance of this fact and adopt the slogan "Now more than ever" to ensure that mankind forces the ruling circles of the West to follow the path of further disarmament. The process initiated by the joint declaration of Gorbachev and Reagan at their first summit meeting in Geneva must be made irreversible. There they noted that a war would bring about the destruction of all mankind, that a war, either a conventional or a nuclear one, would mean the end of human history.

Erich Honecker referred to the significant new disarmament initiative of the USSR, which Mikhail Gorbachev presented to the U.S. secretary of state in Moscow, and to the fact that Baker told the press after his talks: We have agreed to disagree. The cause for the difficulties on the path to disarmament, Erich Honecker said, is that not in the socialist but in the capitalist world there are strong forces which believe that further disarmament measures would shake the foundations of their existence.

Proposals were put forward in Moscow to reduce the Warsaw Pact armed forces by 1 million within a short time and to disarm them at the same time, if the United States and its allies are prepared to do the same. NATO in Brussels, which has been briefed by Baker, said that this is only a small step forward. We are prepared to take this "small step," Erich Honecker stressed. But apparently people over there are not prepared to take this step with us. The Pentagon is exerting great pressure on the U.S. allies to agree to the demand for modernization of tactical missiles.

On the basis of historical development and on the basis of the balance of forces, there is every opportunity today to achieve the aim of securing peace. Of course, what is necessary is the further development of the socialist countries, their cooperation with each other and with the peace movements, the continuation of dialogue with the governments of states with different social orders. The GDR is on the right path. It was one of those that, in connection with the deployment of Pershing 2 and cruise missiles, said: This evil weaponry must go.

Attends Youth Rally

LD1405213189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0705 GMT 14 May 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A militant demonstration by the Free German Youth [FDJ] a further highpoint of the Whitsun meeting of the socialist youth organization, started in Berlin's Karl-Marx-Allee today. Guests at the rally, by means of which the FDJ is giving its greetings to the GDR to mark the 40th anniversary of its foundation, include Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, and other people from public life. Also present are representatives of many friendly youth organizations from several countries, including some from Pyongyang, city of the 13th World Festival, capital of the DPRK.

Honecker Interviewed by DPRK Government Paper

AU1105162589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 May 89 p 2

[Text] East Berlin—On 24 April 1989, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR State Council, gave the following interview, which was published in Pyongyang, to Kim Tschong-suk, editor in chief of the DPRK Government newspaper MINJU CHOSON.

Question: Esteemed Comrade General Secretary, how would you assess, in the significant 40th year after the founding of the GDR, the successes that the people of your country have achieved over the past 40 years for the socialist revolution and in the field of construction?

The People Are the Masters in Their Home That They Make Increasingly Comfortable

Answer: The 40th anniversary of the GDR is an event of truly historical significance for the life of our people. Since its foundation, the first socialist state of the German nation has carried out a great process of restructuring, which has benefited its citizens in every respect. Our people, the workers, the peasants, and the intelligentsia have followed a road of hard work and determined struggle since then. We can say with pride that all our efforts have been worthwhile. With the development of the GDR as a socialist worker-peasant state socialism has been irreversibly established on German soil, and at the same time the GDR has proved to be a stable cornerstone of peace in the heart of Europe.

After World War II our country lay in rubble. Today it is among the most efficient industrialized nations of the world and has a modern agriculture. Science, education, and culture have reached a high level. Social security, full employment, and clear prospects characterize everyday life of the people. To cut a long story short, if one compares the GDR of today with the GDR of the founding year 1949, one can notice progress that was achieved by the people for the people in an unprecedented way in German history. The people are the masters in their home that they make increasingly comfortable.

The 12th SED Congress Will Determine the Further Objectives

We do not stop at the level that we have achieved. In accordance with the decisions of the 11th SED Congress we are implementing the unity of economic and social policy which is intended to continually increase economic efficiency by using the latest scientific and technological findings, and thus make far-reaching social measures possible. In this respect I would like to mention our housing construction program, which is designed to solve the housing question as a social problem by 1990. All this is linked to our aspiration to find those answers to present and future questions concerning development that best respond to the concrete conditions in our country. The 12th SED Congress will define our further objectives in May next year.

Question: Your country has taken steps to create a nuclear weapons-free corridor and a chemical weapons-free zone in central Europe, measures for the unilateral reduction of armed forces and military spending on the territory of the GDR, and is trying hard to achieve the implementation of these steps. Esteemed Comrade General Secretary, how do you perceive the future road toward solving the question of disarmament?

Answer: There can be no doubt that today the prospects are more favorable than only 3 or 4 years ago. The Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty for the first time in history abolishes an entire category of the most modern weapons systems, namely intermediate-range weapons, with strict verification. The GDR has contributed to the conclusion of this agreement and will continue to work for its implementation.

Time Has Come To Initiate Negotiations on Dismantling Tactical Nuclear Weapons

Now the second step has to follow the first one. Bilateral negotiations in Geneva deal with the 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons of the USSR and the United States with adherence to the ABM Treaty. A convention on the ban of chemical weapons will be discussed within the framework of the Geneva disarmament conference. I would also like to point to the USSR-U.S. talks that aim at a comprehensive halt to nuclear weapons. The beginning of the CSCE states' negotiations on conventional disarmament in Europe as well as on confidence and security-building measures in Vienna in March was promising and encouraging. Together with its allies, the GDR supports early and efficient results in the negotiations. The states of the Warsaw Pact have demonstrated that they are ready for it among other things by announcing to unilaterally reduce their armed forces and arms.

Disarmament can ultimately be successful only when all sides involved want it and are ready to consistently follow this road. It must not be permitted that for example the agreed scrapping of longer- and shorter-range intermediate-range weapons is compensated by the development of a new quality in short-range weapons. On the contrary, the time has come to initiate talks even on the scrapping of nuclear tactical weapons, a proposal made by the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact states recently in Berlin.

Peace Proposals of the DPRK Constructive and Very Modern

Question: In his 1989 New Year's address, Comrade Kim Il-song, the great leader of our people, made a new proposal for peace and the peaceful unification of Korea which includes convening a political consultative conference of leading officials of the North and South. In addition, last year the government of our country presented four principles for securing peace on the Korean peninsula and comprehensive peace proposals. What do you think of our approach to the negotiations, and our people's struggle for peace and the peaceful unification of Korea?

Answer: The GDR has always followed with great attention and sympathy the persistent and comprehensive efforts of the DPRK for peace and security on the Korean Peninsula. With its policy, the DPRK is at the same time making an effective contribution toward strengthening the peace potential in Asia and the entire world. This is why we unreservedly support its policy for the peaceful unification of Korea without outside interference and its efforts toward reducing military tensions in this region.

We regard the proposals of the DPRK to convert the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-weapons-free peace zone, to establish trilateral negotiations among the DPRK, the United States, and South Korea, as well as to adopt a non-aggression declaration with South Korea as constructive and very modern. These initiatives and the unilateral preconcessions of the DPRK concerning the reduction of troops increase the topicality of the demand for a withdrawal of U.S. troops and weapons from South Korea. This could create favorable conditions for a useful political dialogue, for the convening of a consultative conference of leading officials from the North and the South to discuss questions with which both sides are concerned.

We know very well that the efforts for dialogue and understanding cannot be successful overnight. This requires the continuous struggle, but also patience and the readiness to strike a compromise, so that mankind's highest good, namely peace, can be preserved. I wish the Korean fraternal people further success in their just struggle.

The Organization of the World Festival Is in the Best Hands

Question: The 13th Youth and Students' World Festival will soon take place in our country. Comrade General Secretary, how do you assess this festival, which will be held in Asia for the first time?

Answer: I remember very well the Third Youth and Students' World Festival in Berlin 1951, where the young people of the world received the team of the struggling Korea with a wave of solidarity, sympathy, and enthusiasm. In 1989, the children and grandchildren of the heroes of that time will host the world festival in Pyongyang. I am sure that the organization of the festival, whose rich tradition can be traced back to 1947, is in the best hands with our Korean friends.

Now as then, the young generation stands in the first line of the struggle for peace and progress, for anti-imperialist solidarity, against national repression, and racism. Thus, it will also express its determination in Pyongyang to shape a world in which all peoples live in peace and good neighborly conditions and can freely develop their creative strengths.

The young people of the GDR have been preparing for their participation in the 13th World Festival for a long time. They will actively participate in this worldwide dialogue, which is unprecedented as far as the number of participants and the diversity of the political and ideological composition are concerned.

Our Friendship Has a Long Tradition

Question: This year marks the 40th year since the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two countries. We think that this is an important event for the further development and deepening of relations of friendship and cooperation between our two countries that are reliably protecting the eastern and western outpost of socialism. Esteemed Comrade General Secretary, how do you perceive the future development of relations of friendship and cooperation between our two countries, and what contribution do you think this will have to consolidate unity and the close ranks of the socialist countries and the international communist movement, as well as to the victory of the cause of socialism and communism?

Answer: Our parties, states, and people have been closely linked for 40 years by their joint objectives, and by comprehensive, varied, and mutually beneficial cooperation. We have always been and will remain faithful friends and fellow-fighters of the Korean Workers Party and the DPRK. Our unshakable friendship has a long tradition. We still remember the deep solidarity with the brave fight of the Korean people against the imperialist aggression in the fifties.

Today, relations are developing comprehensively and dynamically on the basis of the treaty of friendship and cooperation of 1984 and the agreements which were concluded during my meetings with our close friend and Comrade Kim Il-song. Thanks to joint efforts more and more spheres of cooperation have emerged, which is necessary for the cause of socialism now and in the future. Our efforts focus on economic and scientific-technological advanced projects and their use for the benefit of our peoples.

Thus, together we make a valuable contribution to strong socialism and safe peace in the world. The stable pledge for it is to remain faithful to the cause of socialism, to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, and to proletarian internationalism.

Government Suspends Nagymaros Dam Project

Advisory Body Urges Halt

LD1205135989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1200 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] The Council of Ministers advisory body has advised the halting of building work at Nagymaros. The justification of the stance is as follows:

The Nagymaros water barrage has become a symbol of the mistaken investment policy requiring exorbitant materials and energy and of an undemocratic decisionmaking system. A break must be made with this policy and with this kind of decisonmaking. The halting of building the water barrage will exemplify this break.

Regarding the international legal consequences, the advisory body considers that there are a number of possibilities for easing these problems. The possible cancellation of the investment, however, would not render the significant Czechoslovak investments already carried out in the region of Boes redundant. In reality, it does not affect economic cooperation between the two countries.

While urging the halt, the advisory body of the government resolutely considers that a referendum must not be held on this question.

Open Letter to Nemeth

LD1205170589 Budapest MTI in English 1625 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 12 (MTI)—On the day the government's advisory body proposed abandonment of the Nagymaros project to the government, the technical institutions engaged in water management and construction and the regional councils concerned, a total 10 organizations, addressed an open letter to Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth.

"This letter is to express our support for a repeated government decision on the early, full completion of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros barrage system.

"In recent years the question of continuing or stopping the capital project has become a factor influencing political public mood. In the midst of political wrangling, we feel that reasonable arguments and basic economic considerations have been pushed to the background. We are convinced that the setting up of the international waterway, improvement of flood control security and cheap energy productions make the project economical in the long run, while the opening of the Danube-Main-Rhine canal will facilitate, even in the short term, Hungary's more intensive participation in the world economy.

"We request the government to continue to stand firmly for the continuation and early completion of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros project, with paying due regard to environmental considerations."

Government Suspends Project

LD1305180189 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 13 May 89

[Text] The government economic package and the fate of the Boes-Nagymaros water barrage were discussed at today's extraordinary session of the Council of Ministers, which went on into the evening. Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy has spoken to "Newsreel" about this:

[Begin recording] [Medgyessy] The premier undertook a commitment to parliament that the government would reexamine this issue, and if necessary it would resubmit it. We discussed it on the basis of several sets of material. Earlier, the government created two ad hoc committees, one to study the economic issues, the other to examine the legal issues. Beyond this, the opinion and stand of the Academy of Sciences were at our disposal.

[Unidentified correspondent] We are familiar with these.

[Medgyessy] Yes, and the opinion of the government's advisory body is also known. The factors of uncertainty are known, from the viewpoint of ecological effects, which especially justified the point that the government should again deal with this issue.

At today's session, the Council of Ministers decided that as of today it is suspending the Nagymaros work on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros construction project.

[Correspondent] What is meant by suspending?

[Medgyessy] What is meant by suspending is that there is no work, there is no kind of work.

[Correspondent] Until when?

[Medgyessy] I would like to tell you. The intention is that we will also very thoroughly consider the serious possibility of a halt. For this, it is still necessary to complete numerous studies, and certain work must be done. This also means that interstate talks must be initiated for a change, a correction to the concluded international treaties.

There is a need for navigation on the Danube to be guaranteed, after all, in the event that the project is halted. If we halt it, it will also be necessary to ensure the technical conditions so that this should take place according to an appropriate plan—so that we should not simply fall into a huge change.

In order to shape the necessary concepts so that we can make up for lost efforts, as I have said, a thorough ecological study is necessary, and beyond this it is necessary to look into the possibility of conducting talks with Austrian enterprises, that is with Austrian enterprises and banks, so that their losses should not be excessive. Perhaps it is necessary to look into the possibility of their taking part in the World Exhibition.

[Correspondent] How long will this temporary stage last? In other words, when can we expect the final decision?

[Medgyessy] At the government session we agreed that within 2 months these studies and work will have to be completed. There is also another task connected with this. At the end of May the government, or to be more precise, Miklos Nemeth on behalf of the government, will request in parliament that we should also suspend the government's earlier decision, which contains those eight points that placed tasks on the goverment connected with the continuation...in other words, that we should not continue this work for the time being.

It is also an issue, and a task, that we should see what should be the stance in connection with the referendum. This will likewise have to be established in connection with these studies, with the proviso that parliament naturally has the right to declare a referendum.

Therefore, after 2 months have elapsed, we hope to be at the end of this issue. Until then we shall suspend it; and the intentions, well, they are fairly clear, I think. [end recording]

Nemeth Interviewed on Situation

LD1405171489 Budapest MTI in English 1541 GMT 14 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 14 (MTI)—Should the decision, based on a comprehensive survey, be to abandon the Nagymaros project, I will undertake that, too, said Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth to "Parliamentary Reports" on May 13. The complete text of the exclusive interview is to appear on May 15.

In the interview the prime minister pointed out, "The anti-reform, conservative forces are pressing for a rise in living standards and wielding the weapons of social demagogy. We are also concerned about what is painful to society, but do not want to help with empty slogans."

In connection with the governing practice planned during the transition to a multi-party system, Mr Nemeth said, "Even so far, I have strived for cooperation with various political forces. Until now, this has remained on the level of consultations. In its present set-up, the government is ready to offer an opportunity for participation in substantive work on all-governmental and ministerial levels."

With regard to the church policy of the new government, the prime minister stated, "It is a major endeavour of our church policy to ensure the complete independence, sovereignty and unrestricted operation of the churches by separating them from the state and, with reliance on the equal partnership relation, to continue to develop our many-sided cooperation. Accordingly, we have to abolish the spheres of authority and the use of means of state administration which might result in interference with the internal life of churches, violation of their autonomy and occasional restriction instead of regulation. In this way, a major part of the scopes of authority and function of the state office for church affairs could be eliminated, which means that maintenance of the institution in its present form would become unnecessary," the prime minister said.

Further Nemeth Remarks

LD1405172689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 14 May 89

[Text] Premier Miklos Nemeth, prior to his visit to Poland, gave an interview to "The National Assembly Reports" in which he stated that at the next session of the National Assembly at the end of May [30 May], the government will request authorization to review the international commitments connected with suspending construction on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros barrage. With this in its possession, the government wishes to hold discussions with Czechoslovakia about the consequences of modifying the interstate agreement as well as with Austrian financial institutions about the financial implications of stopping the construction.

By the end of July the government will have carried out a detailed examination of the ecological, seismic, and other environmental consequences of stopping the construction.

After this it will report on the results of the examinations to the National Assembly which will then decide on the issue of a permanent suspension, or, if it deems it right, then it will propose a referendum on this issue.

Among other issues, in connection with the evaluation of the Kadar era, in the judgment of Miklos Nemeth the basic flaw of the previous model of socialism is that it neglects the person, does not really help the unfolding of creative, great personalities, because it disregards [semmibevesz] the motives of individuals and small communities. The premier pointed out that the model of socialism employed up until now is built on the short-term exploitation of the producing factor, and for this reason it makes the capacity for renewal impossible.

According to Miklos Nemeth the political organizations now being formed are in an incipient state and cannot yet be regarded as mature political organizations. At the same time the government is ready to offer various possibilities for joining in the substantive work, said Miklos Nemeth in the statement he gave to "The National Assembly Reports."

Medgyessy Interviewed on Project

LD1305212989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 13 May 89

[Interview with Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy with correspondent Gabor Bankuti in Budapest on 13 May—recorded]

[Text] [Bankuti] The government has decided to suspend the construction of the Nagymaros power plant. What does this mean?

[Medgyessy] We will halt all work, starting from today, with the intention of thoroughly assessing the possibility of stopping the work at Nagymaros. This, however, necessitates the completion of a number of tasks, such as holding international discussions, for it is known that there are interstate agreements that determine our commitments. This will have to be discussed with our partners.

It will have to be examined how, in the event of a halt, shipping on the Danube could be guaranteed. We will have to look at the system of technical conditions for a halt. Apart from this it is necessary to evolve an energy policy concept to make up for the energy we will lose.

A very thorough environmental and ecological study will also have to be carried out, so that the final decision may be made with the appropriate thoroughness.

[Bankuti] What will this suspension as of today mean visibly? In other words, if a person walks by there, will he see that no kind of work is in progress?

[Medgyessy] Yes, from Monday onward no kind of work will be in progress. The government has issued the decrees in this connection.

[Bankuti] What kind of international discussions does the government have in mind? In any case, how much of a possibility is there for this, because, for example, the Czechoslovak papers, in a very harsh tone, are purporting that there is political ill will?

[Medgyessy] Above all I would like to stress that there is no kind of political ill will behind this. We strive for very good relations with Czechoslovakia. We have told our colleagues this several times, each at his own level. And we will also take care of this in the future.

But this is a different issue. This is an ecological, economic issue. And as such it is a topic that if necessary must be, or may be, reviewed. I can not yet evaluate today what the outcome of such a discussion could be. It is known that our premier will shortly visit Czechoslovakia. And, well, after that, further discussions at the level of experts and the leadership will also be necessary.

[Bankuti] How could this affect our Austrian partners?

[Medgyessy] With the Austrians we have no interstate agreement but only enterprise agreements. It is obvious that we will have to hold a discussion with them, too, on this issue. And there as well, some kind of solution will have to be found. I think that, for example, their participation in the investments of the Vienna-Budapest World Exhibition offers a good possibility for our finding some kind of solution with the Austrians as well.

[Bankuti] Are we in an economic situation such that we can pay certain compensations? Certain very high figures have appeared in the Czechoslovak papers.

[Medgyessy] But the figures that have appeared in the Czechoslovak papers are obviously not binding on the Hungarian side. Understandably, they look at these issues from their own angle, and we from our own angle. We will strive for a correct relationship, good relations, and a satisfactory agreement.

[Bankuti] Do you feel there is any prospect of this?

[Medgyessy] Well, it is very difficult to say this in advance. Hitherto our relations have been very good. I trust that there will be prospects for this, and this is, let us say, helped by the fact that this high-level discussion will take place within a fixed time, which will perhaps help improve understanding and clarity. Obviously we cannot expect the Czechoslovak partners to examine the world from our viewpoint. They will represent their own interests, and we will represent ours.

[Bankuti] At this extraordinary session, which also was the first session of the new government...

[Medgyessy, interrupting] ...Yes, this Saturday we initiated our new colleagues.

[Bankuti] The government discussed the package plan, with which it wishes to create a better balance.

[Medgyessy] I believe that the issue is a bit more complex than that. The government wishes to create economic conditions that could lay the foundations for the economic course in years to come.

[Bankuti] Is the suspension of the Nagymaros hydroelectric power station, properly speaking, a part of this?

[Medgyessy] Of course it is a part, since the issue at hand here was a complex survey of the entire economic situation, the political situation, the social situation. It follows from this that this is also part of the whole picture.

[Bankuti] Can it not be said that this is the positive, popular part of the package plan, and that it is necessary to fear that the other parts of this package plan will be very tough?

[Medgyessy] I do not think that it might be a crime in a government package if it has relatively positive measures as well which are acceptable and sympathetic to society. To be sure, these will also include social policy, in which we have to hold a discussion with the trade unions in the middle of next week. And, of course, it also has elements which, in the interest of the economic balance, contain measures that will not please every protagonist in economic life. We have endeavored to ensure that this should have the least possible direct affect on the population, and so that its inflation-generating affect should be as small as possible. Primarily we wish to achieve results in the sphere of rationalizing state outlays and thereby lowering military-defense expenditures, with those released funds turned to the administration of the state budget and decreasing subsidies. We will also further reduce the outlays given for the support of social organs.

At the same time, the constraints will not affect education, health, or scientific research.

Environment Groups in Support

LD1405221189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 14 May 89

[Text] Gabor Bankuti has just arrived back from the international news conference held by the environmental protection societies.

[Bankuti] The Whitsun decision of the Miklos Nemeth government for the immediate suspension of the construction of the Nagymaros hydropower station is a turning point, a great step toward national reconciliation. This is the opinion of the Danube circle.

At today's news conference, which they held jointly with other Danube protection associations, they established that it is of particular importance in the resolution that negotiations will begin on amending the international contacts. The goodwill delegation, initiated by the Danube circle, will set off for Vienna in a week to offer support in the interests of a mutually acceptable agreement. They are proposing that a similar delegation also be sent to the Slovak and Czechoslovak capitals.

The Danube circle demands the unchanged implementation of rightful settlement development measures in Nagymaros, Visegrad, Esztergom, and Dunakiliti. They stated that in the event of the abandonment of Nagymaros, at Dunakiliti at least 600 cubic meters of water must be let into the old Danube, the promised water supplementary system must be constructed, and the river tributary branches which have been closed off must be opened. These are the minimal conditions that would permit the reduction of the damaging effects on the natural world of Szigekoez caused by the operation of the Boes power station.

They also said that to date offers of 10,000 working days and 150,000 forints had arrived for the work of rectifying things.

The representative of the Democratic Trade Union of Scientific Workers emphasized that this was the third correct decision, following the cancelling of highway tolls and the shutting down of bauxite mining at Nyirad.

The representatives of the Bajcsy-Zsilinszky society also greeted the decision, but they consider that it is necessary to create an independent environmental economy ministry, separated from water affairs and independent of portfolios.

The group demanding a referendum still thinks it is important for the decision to be confirmed by a referendum. They also mentioned that the work must be halted also where the machinery for the power station is being manufactured.

The representative of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party reform circle said that this present decision is the touchstone of the commitment to reform. The group had already emphasized this earlier, but their opinion had not received any publicity in the press, with the exception of one single paper.

Those present also demanded that the economic investigation that is now to be carried out be done openly, also including the accounts paid.

Independent expert Lajos Bokros made known his calculations. The decision will make it possible to save 20 to 30 billion from the 100 to 120 billion forint Danube investment.

Ministers Queried at National Assembly Session

LD1205170389 Budapest MTI in English 1507 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 12 (MTI)—As reported, the Friday session of the Hungarian National Assembly has resumed its work with interpellations. Budapest MP Geza Szalai drew the minister of justice on the modification of the penal code and the abolition of the death penalty.

Justice Minister Kalman Kulcsar replied that if Hungary wanted to become an integrated part of Europe then it should accept the related conditions. Therefore, he raises no objection to the abolition of capital punishment. Whilst the debate on this issue goes on, certain measures should be taken now. Outlining his ministry's plans, he said that public opinion did not accept the death penalty for political offences. The government is to table a motion at the next parliamentary session to abolish capital punishment for crimes against the state.

As regards offences against human life, the minister proposes the introduction of a transitional moratorium: In other words, the Presidential Council should pass a decision not to refuse any appeal for pardon until the debates on this issue are resolved and the related legislation comes into effect. He also drew attention to the fact that, were the Constitution to enshrine the right to life, this would in itself imply the abolition of capital punishment. The minister's reply was accepted by all parties present.

In connection with hasty financial measures, such as the withdrawal of the 500 million forints for motorway construction, Attila Zsigmond asked how the government explained the outflow of 5,000-10,000 million schillings into shopping tourism with the country having such difficult payment conditions. Mr Zsigmond also asked the interior minister what measures were being taken against police abuse.

Finance Minister Laszlo Bekesi asked MPs to allow him, according to the legal regulations, to reply at the next session. What he would say was that he was not planning to freeze the amount of foreign currency deposited in personal accounts.

Jeno Foldesi, under-secretary of state at the Ministry of the Interior, pointed out that recent years have not seen a considerable increase in the number of violations of the law during police procedures. There are about 100 such cases every year. The 1988 figure was 129. At the same time, he stressed that police abuse casts a shadow over the honest members of the force. In his view, the abuses are attributed partly to the insufficient preparedness of the police force, great fluctuation and the lack of scientific suitability tests. Nevertheless, he said that policemen abusing their power are dismissed and the lessons put to use in educational work.

Mr Foldesi's answer was accepted by parliament.

The May session of the National Assembly heard a total of 16 interpellations. Following the replies, the session ended on Friday afternoon.

Soviet Regiment To Depart Debrecen 15 May

LD1205174989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] NATO observers will arrive in Debrecen soon. The Soviet armored personnel carrier training regiment stationed there will leave for home on Monday. At a news briefing, the commander of the town's garrison said that the unit was being disbanded. Some of the soldiers are being discharged or retired. The military equipment will be destroyed. For all that, the Soviet barracks will not remain empty because in the future it will accommodate the Soviet mechanized rifle regiment arriving from near the Austrian border.

Soviet Flights Over Debrecen To Be Curbed

LD1205224289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2200 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] As a result of protests by inhabitants, Soviet military flights in Debrecen will be further curbed as of Monday. No kind of plane whatever may take off in the city before 0600 and training flights will be held on three days of the week: Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, after 0700. This, too, will be forbidden on holidays.

According to the agreement between representatives of the Defense Ministry, the Soviet Military Airfield Command concerned, and the Debrecen Council, the helicopters henceforth will avoid the Hajdu-Bihar County seat; whereas fighter planes may not land at night from the direction of the city. The so-called school circuit of the planes has also been moved to a zone outside the residential area.

The people of Debrecen, however, are not satisfied even with this. At the time of the discussions 200 local people carried banners demanding the total stopping of Soviet military flights.

They also want to persuade their National Assembly deputy to make an appeal in Parliament in the interest of resolving their problem.

Nemeth Departs for 1-Day Visit to Poland

LD1405193989 Budapest MTI in English 1810 GMT 14 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 14 (MTI)—On Sunday evening Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, left for a one-day friendly, working visit to Poland on the invitation of Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic.

Bundesrat President Engholm Visits Budapest

Szuros, Poszgay Meet Engholm

AU0905172489 Hamburg DPA in German 1644 GMT 9 May

[Text] Budapest—Hungarian Parliamentary President Matyas Szuros and State Minister Imre Pozsgay clearly substantiated Hungary's reform efforts. They made statements to this effect during comprehensive talks with Schleswig-Holstein Minister President Bjoern Engholm (Social Democratic Party of Germany), who is currently visiting Budapest in his capacity as president of the Bundesrat. As their main objectives, the politicians listed parliamentary democracy, detente in the big military alliances, and the economy's opening up toward the West. Journalists were also present at the talks.

According to Szuros, Hungary is "firmly determined to follow the road toward democracy." The president of the National Assembly noted: "We want a free, independent, democratic, and socialist Hungary." Democracy is not just a possible way, but the only way toward socialism, Szuros said. The country is moving toward neutrality and a market economy. "The political face of Hungary will completely change," he noted. Parliament will have to do "lots of work" to create the legal foundations. The risks can be reduced by efficient support from the West.

Szuros said that "the Stalinist model has failed once and for all." The one-party system has proved to be unsuitable for creating real democratic conditions. In this respect, the Hungarian view is different to that of USSR state and party chief Mikhail Gorbachev. However, Gorbachev is "a key figure." His attitude has been "very helpful" for the developments in Budapest, Szuros concluded.

Szuros Receives Engholm

AU0905175789 Budapest MTI in English
1721 GMT 9 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 9 (MTI)—On Tuesday in Budapest, Matyas Szuros, speaker of the Hungarian National Assembly, received Bjoern Engholm, president of the Bundesrat, who is currently visiting Budapest as the guest of the National Assembly.

Mr Szuros said that Hungary's relations with the FRG are well balanced. He referred to the diverse support that the Federal Republic of Germany has provided to Hungary to date, and indicated that Hungary needs support to realize restructuring. Mr Szuros stressed that the success of the current Hungarian experiment cannot be indifferent for Europe.

Mr Engholm showed lively interest in the Hungarian political, social and economic situation and the changes taking place at present. He was briefed on the role of the parties and movements being set up, and the means of sharing power.

Nemeth Meets Bundesrat President

AU1005115089 Budapest MTI in English
1105 GMT 10 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 10 (MTI)—Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Bjoern Engholm, president of the [FRG] Bundesrat, in Parliament in Budapest on Wednesday [10 May].

Present at the cordial conversation were Mrs Robert Jakab, vice-president of the National Assembly, and Alexander Arnot, ambassador of the FRG to Hungary.

Circumstances of Kadar's Departure Discussed

LD1305182289 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1400 GMT 13 May 89

[From the "168 hours" program]

[Text] The Kadar era ended at the beginning of the week, or more precisely on Monday afternoon. Then, 2 days later, a letter from Janos Kadar, calling to mind the phoenix image, arrived at the Central Committee. Its wording was crystal-clear, which was typical of the former first secretary, and many people cast doubt on the fairness of the Central Committee's decision. Anyone who can assess his own situation so precisely is not dependent on the euphemisms which stripped him of all of his political roles. The letter suggests, with political elegance, that the Central Committee was mistaken, or—out of respect—that the body allowed itself to appear that, for the last time, it might have been mistaken about Janos Kadar, the man who led the party since 4 November 1956.

These, of course, are mere speculations, and we are not the only ones who speculate. The world's major news agencies have also sought an explanation for the contradiction. Some western news agencies were also informed about particular details after Janos Kadar's final speech.

Zoltan Farkas, the correspondent of "168 hours", called on Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Spokesman Laszlo Major for information from a credible source.

[Begin recording] [Farkas] REUTER gave an account of Janos Kadar's state of health, mentioning that at last month's central committee session, the party chairman—I quote verbatim—spoke incoherently at length about his own responsibility, disregarding Karoly Grosz's attempts to cut off his speech. What happened exactly at this Central Committee session? What did Janos Kadar say, and what does the REUTER report mean?

[Major] My impression is that Hungarian public opinion and party opinion, too, are divided over Janos Kadar's departure. For precisely this reason it would do no harm to clarify some things that are being said. Out of discretion for the patient we did not speak in detail about the state of his illness, since this comes within one's right to personal privacy.

Allow me to go back a bit. Janos Kadar's hand operation, which was scarcely as simple as might have appeared, took place in November. I can say, as a layman, and others also say, that the expected recovery did not take place after the operation.

[Farkas] You were in contact with Janos Kadar; you had links with him, you saw him, you met with him.

[Major] Of course. I met him several times, when the doctors allowed him to occasionally visit the Central Committee headquarters. His condition, his physical and mental condition, further deteriorated, especially in February. I believe that the political events that took place in February—the reassessment of 1956—left their mark on his condition.

He appeared in fact at the Central Committee session in April which you have mentioned. He came in after the afternoon recess. Several people tried to dissuade him. In spite of that, he insisted that he would like to speak, saying who knows when his state of health would allow this again. Thus, he came in after the afternoon recess, and standing at the cost of great effort, he spoke for more than one hour.

The REUTER information is more or less accurate: his appearance was dramatic. A person who had lost weight and who was also broken physically stood for more than an hour facing the members.

[Farkas] Apparently, no usable notes were taken of this speech.

[Major] No, because it was an improvised speech of an extremely subjective tone, which every member who was present perceived as a farewell to the Committee and to active political life.

[Farkas] A clarification of these developments is also unavoidable because the Friday newspapers carried the statement of the Budapest reform circle, according to which Janos Kadar's retirement was primarily motivated by political considerations, questioning whether it was his state of health which was the exclusive reason for Janos Kadar's retirment. At the same time, another Friday surprise was that the periodical MAGYARORSZAG began carrying an interview-series with Janos Kadar. A political and historical review of the Kadar era is also under way. Thus, they are correctly finding a link between the retirement of the party chairman and the documents which are now surfacing. Is such a link to be precluded?

[Major] I do not wish to engage in political speculation. The Central Committee decided this for exclusively health reasons.

[Farkas] And how did the MAGYARORSZAG interview come about?

[Major] Janos Kadar promised an interview to Andras Kanyo, editor in chief of MAGYARORSZAG, when he still was was still on the staff of NEPSZABADSAG. For various reasons, he did not recover from surgery. Then, since this was the interview which Kadar had promised first—later he promised one to NEPSZAVA but that had not taken place either—the newly appointed editor in chief of MAGYARORSZAG availed himself of his right. He pushed it; Janos Kadar complied to the extent of some conversations. A photographer was also present at the beginning of the conversations. This is how some conversations came about, I believe between 10 March and the beginning of April. However, it had to be ended—the interview is fragmentary. After the beginning of April, Janos Kadar's health was in no condition to allow him to continue the interviews.

[Farkas] Thus, we cannot expect there to be further interviews.

[Major] Being familiar with all of the circmstances, my impression is no. I believe that in other countries the illness of a great politician is usually approached in a slightly different manner, by passing daily political considerations. To be sure, the standard of political life is higher there than in our country. Here I am thinking of the protracted illness of Finnish President Kekkonen, or the illness of French President Pompidou. No one tried to grope around in issues of detail—regarding why he was ill, where he was ill, where he was being treated, what was his illness, why couldn't a [word indistinct] social committee see him.

Unusually, this only happens in our country. To be sure, the loosening up of the earlier information policy also has a role in this, the Hungarian public is simply information starved. However, I believe the fact that there is a point where ethics and the rights of personal privacy exist ought to be understood. [end recording]

Press Publishes Communique on Committee Session

AU1205135389 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 10 May 89 p 3

[Unattributed communique on the session of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee held on 8 May, under the headline: "Communique on the MSZMP Central Committee Session of 8 May"]

[Text] The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP] held a session on 8 May 1989 with the participation of Central Committee members, the chairman and secretary of the Central Control Committee, the first secretaries of the county and town party committees, the secretaries of the Budapest party committee, the heads of the Central Committee departments, and the heads of the party press, and discussed and approved:

—A report on the experiences of debates held on the draft of the law on parties, and the proposals of the MSZMP Central Committee on setting up a political coordination forum, presented by Gyorgy Fejti, secretary of the Central Committee;
—A proposal on discontinuing the right of appointing cadres by the MSZMP, presented by General Secretary Karoly Grosz;
—A report on the initial experiences of the operation of the reform circles, and a draft position on the freedom of voicing opinion and initiating within the party;

—A draft position on the founding of the Hungarian Democratic Youth Federation [DEMISZ];
—A draft position on the operation and further tasks of the workers' militia, presented by Sandor Borbely, commander of the workers' militia;
—Proposals by Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, on reshuffling the government.

On the basis of a presentation by General Secretary Karoly Grosz, the Central Committee decided about relieving and appointing certain party officials.

The Central Committee discussed and approved as the basis of further work the principles of the law on political parties. It took a stand that the ensurance of the freedom of association and political rights and the democratic manifestation and enforcement of the various interests and values existing in society make the framing of the law justified. The Central Committee approves that the registration and constitutional supervision of the operation of the political parties be seen to by the constitutional court. The Central Committee agrees that the law should stipulate the budget subsidies to and management of the parties.

The Central Committee suggests that, also taking into consideration the agreements between the MSZMP negotiating groups and those of other political forces and movements, the Council of Ministers should finalize the draft law as soon as possible and submit it to the National Assembly.

The Central Committee heard a report on the work of the MSZMP Central Committee's negotiating group to date. The body holds it necessary to open talks as early as possible among the various social and political organizations. In this interest, it will be initiating the setting up of a political coordination forum.

The Central Committee reexamined the scope of authority that the MSZMP exercised in personnel issues. It initiates that the Council of Ministers repeal the related legal measures. In the future, the MSZMP wishes to enforce its interests and influence only with political means when appointments are made to the most important state, economic, social, and other leading functions, and for the election of members of parliament and council members. It will conduct broad public political activity to make its candidates accepted. In the future, the Central Committee and the party committees will decide only about filling party functions in their own scope of authority. They will not take a preliminary stand on the election of officials directed by them.

The Central Committee welcomes the fact that the basic organizations and the elected party bodies are becoming increasingly active, and take more and more initiatives for the MSZMP to be transformed into a modern reform party of Marxist spirit. It evaluates the setting up of the reform circles and their emerging activity as part of this process. The Central Committee is convinced that its members' freedom of conscience and freedom to express their opinions are essential for the democratic functioning of our party. Representatives of identical values and opinions—trends and platforms—can freely express their opinions in the party forums. At the same time, the body opposes, in protection of the party's ability to act, the organizational separation efforts of the platforms. The cooperation of the progressive forces of the party is needed for renewal.

The Central Committee states that there can be no dogmas or irrevocable majority opinions in a democratic party. In addition to recognizing the right of elected bodies to make decisions and the obligation to implement these decisions, each party member has the right to maintain his opinion.

The Central Committee welcomes the founding of the Hungarian Democratic Youth Federation, and its approved platform. It agrees that the DEMISZ wants to function independently and without party guidance. The Central Committee considers it important for an increased number of members of the youth organizations to also participate in the MSZMP activity as party members too. The MSZMP is striving to cooperate with the DEMISZ bodies on the basis of mutual values and political interests. The MSZMP will work out different contacts with the DEMISZ member organizations by acknowledging their programs and activities. The MSZMP is aware that the political and economic reforms cannot succeed without the participation of young people. The Central Committee proposes that a negotiating group be set up from representatives of the MSZMP Central Committee and the DEMISZ Federation Council to formulate a common position on the most important socio-political tasks of the day and to determine the new content of cooperation. The Central Committee calls upon the party members, the party organizations, and the party committees to organize joint consultations with the local groups of DEMISZ member organizations on the opportunities for joint work and on the representation of young people in the various party bodies. The Central Commmittee acknowledges that, in many places, the young party members are initiating the establishment of youth platforms in their party organization.

The Central Committee stated that in the past decades the workers' militia had operated on a wide social basis, in a voluntary manner and democratic spirit, amid lawful frameworks. Its members carried out activity that was worthy of appreciation in the economy, in services, and in public life. The workers' militia accepts the reform efforts of society. It is active as a voluntary armed body integrated into the defense system of the Hungarian People's Republic under the supervision of the Council of Ministers. The Central Committee repeals its earlier resolution on the party direction of the workers' militia, and asks the chairman of the Council of Ministers to prepare and issue the new legal measure referring to the body. This new legal measure should stipulate the tasks of the Workers' Militia in defending the constitutional order, strengthening our country's security, defending the country's home territory, preventing catastrophes, defending life and property, and protecting public order and security.

The Central Committee supports Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth's government reshuffle proposal. It took the position that it would not exercise its right to nominate ministers in the National Assembly, and repeals its relevant earlier resolution.

The Central Committee decided about relieving and appointing certain party officials.

—The Central Committee was informed about the state of health of Janos Kadar, and decided to relieve him, with due recognition of his merits, from his post as party president and member of the Central Committee. The body addressed a letter to Mr Kadar, which it will make public;
—The Central Committee relieved Janos Lukacs from his function as Central Committee secretary and member of the Central Committee, in view of his election as president of the Central Control Commission;
—It relieved Istvan Petrovszki, member of the Central Committee, from his post as head of department, with due recognition of his merits, in view of his retirement;
—It appointed Jeno Kovacs, deputy head of department of the Central Committee, as head of department;
—It relieved Gabor Borbely, member of the Central Committee, from his function as editor-in-chief of the newspaper NEPSZABADSAG, and appointed him head of department of the Central Committee;
—It elected Pal Eotvos, deputy editor-in-chief of NEPSZABADSAG, member of the Central Committee, and appointed him editor-in-chief of the daily.

The Central Committee elected a nominating committee to fill the vacant party functions.

The Central Committee, considering the initiatives of the party membership, has decided to summon the national conference of the MSZMP for the autumn of 1989. The Central Committee will determine the exact date, agenda, and means of electing delegates in the near future.

Romanian Envoy Refuses To Accept Protest

LD1505121589 Budapest MTI in English 1106 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 15 (MTI)—On May 11th, the head of the relevant department of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs summoned the Romanian ambassador to Hungary to his office with the intention of presenting him with a memorandum reaffirming that it was for the purpose of medical treatment that Janos Peter, retired minister of foreign affairs, had invited former Romanian Foreign Minister Corneliu Manescu to Hungary. The Romanian ambassador refused to accept the memorandum, considering it an interference in the domestic affairs of Romania. He said Manescu had 'received adequate treatment from Romanian physicians'. The spokesman reminded him of the fact that the elderly politician was being kept in internal exile, and his state of health was a cause for worry, Istvan Komoroczki, foreign affairs spokesman, said at a press briefing held on Monday.

Tibor Toth, spokesman for questions of disarmament, said, 'Hungary was pleased with the favourable turn in the second round of the Vienna talks on European conventional disarmament and the measures to reinforce confidence and security. Hungary stands in support of the proposal of the Warsaw Treaty, according to which the continent should be divided into zones for arms control purposes. Hungary would be included in the central European zone of special importance regarding disarmament'.

Party, Opposition Spokesmen on 'War of Words'

LD1205213189 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 12 May 89

[no video available]

[Text] In the past 48 hours we have seen a veritable war of words between the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] and opposition roundtable in the press, television, and radio. Hungarian television thought it would give the opportunity for both sides to outline their views here in the television studio. Peter Tolgyessy, representing the opposition roundtable:

[Begin Tolgyessy recording] First of all, I would like to thank the television authorities for giving me the opportunity to outline my opinion. I came here with the intention that we should put an end to the waves of accusations. The Opposition roundtable does not wish to make accusations, but to acquaint the television audience with the facts. The facts are as follows:

The MSZMP took up negotiations with the Opposition roundtable. These negotiations happened in two rounds, on four occasions. The MSZMP judged that, for the sake of a new initiative, the talks had to be broken off. We learned of this with great amazement and regret. Instead of continuing these prepatory talks and perhaps resulting in new proposals, the MSZMP turned to the opposition organizations themselves over the head of the Opposition Roundtable organization—or if I put it more crudely but more precisely, throwing the Opposition roundtable out of the window—and asked them to consider the possibilities of multilateral talks.

Obviously with the intention of splitting the unity of the opposition, and fearing that, getting into the crossfire of (?rational arguments), it would not be able to defend its standpoint in the glare of openness, the MSZMP is endeavoring to be able to continue to play the role of the great unifier, separately, in multilaterial negotiations. Whether sharp accusations or the voice of the siren, the unity of the Opposition roundtable will be preserved. And if the MSZMP truly wants constructive talks, it should continue these preparatory talks as soon as possible. [end recording]

That was the standpoint of the Opposition Roundtable. Now for Imre Forgacs, the MSZMP representative.

[Begin Forgacs recording] The standpoints have truly come closer on several points. It is known from the press that the only question in which we could not come closer to each other's standpoints, as a matter of fact, is that of the circle of participants. Permit me to read a short quotation from the minutes of the last round of talks: The representatives of the Opposition roundtable inform the representatives of the MSZMP that on this question they cannot make any kind of concession. This is treated by all the participants of the Opposition roundtable as a precondition to the talks, and there is complete agreement that they will not negotiate without this. No kind of concession can be expected.

I think that from this short quotation, not just from its content but also from its wording, it can be seen because of this issue, that is the question of the participants, the talks had actually reached a deadlock. For this reason the negotiating group evaluated—and this is how the report was created which was submitted to the Central Committee—that a new initiative was needed. So, it was not a question of breaking off the talks, but registering that fact. We think that this rather unproductive debate carried out on the preparation should be ended as soon as possible. I think that public opinion would also rather hear about agreements of merit. Opinions in connection with this are more important. And, we are waiting—as the MSZMP general secretary also said today—for responsible political factors, political parties, and social organizations to give an answer of substance as soon as possible to the the Central Committee. [end recording]

Teachers Demand End to Forced Russian Learning

AU1205104589 Paris AFP in English
1023 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 12 (AFP)—A group of teachers and students denounced obligatory classes of Russian language and Marxist-Leninist thought in Hungary in a protest outside the Culture Ministry, reliable sources said Friday.

Some 60 demonstrators, from a group calling itself the Republican Circle, were protesting the Culture Ministry's failure to follow through with the plan announced in February to drop Russian as a required course in primary and secondary school.

Jozsef Banlaki, one of the movement's leaders, said the continued requirements were "reminiscent of the Stalinist-Rakosist model". Matyas Rakosi was the Hungarian Communist Party leader from 1945 to 1956.

A shortage of English and French teachers and difficulties in replacing Russian-language teachers are believed to have slowed down the ministry's plans.

Solidarity Not To Support Jaruzelski Candidacy

LD1405204189 Hamburg DPA in German
1948 GMT 14 May 89

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—The Solidarity trade union probably will not support a candidacy by state and party leader Wojciech Jaruzelski for the office of state president after the elections to the Polish parliament on 4 and 18 June. Lech Walesa, chairman of the trade union, said in Gdansk today that there were three possibilities: "To support this candidacy, not to support it, or to put forward a candidate of one's own." Solidarity, was considering the last two variants, Walesa said.

When he said previously that after his last meeting with Jaruzelski he was looking at the general "with different eyes," the crowd whistled and booed. On Friday, Politburo member Janusz Reykowski confirmed the intention of the party to propose Jaruzelski for the office of state president. The president, equipped with great authority, is elected by the National Assembly, composed of the Sejm and the Senate.

In the parliamentary elections, the Solidarity candidates are running for 161 of the 460 seats in the Sejm and for the 100 seats in the Senate. According to the Constitution, the president has to be elected by an absolute majority. This means that the votes from the government coalition will be sufficient to elect Jaruzelski, even if Solidarity achieves a dream result.

'Orion-89' Tactical Exercises for 27-30 Jun

LD1105185589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1730 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] In accordance with the training program calendar, unilateral divisional tactical exercises, codenamed 'Orion-89,' will take place in southwestern Poland on 27-30 June. Detachments of the 11th "Jan III Sobieski" tank division and assigned supporting units from the land and air forces will take part in the exercise. The aim of the exercise, which will be conducted in three stages, is to perfect the troops and staffs in the organization and conduct of defensive operations. The exercise will be led by Lieutenant General Henryk Szumski, commander of the Silesian Military District. A total of 17,100 soldiers, 176 tanks, 60 artillery pieces, and 35 helicopters will be taking part in the exercise.

Information about the exercise has been passed on, in accordance with the document of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe [CSCE], to all signatories of the CSCE final act. Observers from 34 countries have been invited to the exercise.

Naval Commander Meets With UK Counterpart

LD1205125789 Warsaw PAP in English
1130 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] London, May 12—During a courtesy visit of the flagship of the Polish Navy ORP [ship of the Polish Republic] "Warszawa" to London on May 11, its commander, Admiral Romauld Waga paid a visit to the Navy headquarters of NATO and Britain in Northwood where he was received by the commander of the battle fleet of the British Navy, Admiral Sir Benjamin Bathurst.

Admiral Bathurst stressed the close historical ties between British and Polish Armed Forces which were particularly notable during the last world war. Admiral Bathurst drew attention to the fact that the ORP "Warszawa" was the first Polish warship to pay a visit to Britain in 12 years and expressed a hope that the contacts between the navies of both countries would be continued with the number of visits by ships growing.

Admiral Bathurst stressed the significance of last year's visit by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to Poland, the first in British-Polish relations. He also said that Britain and the Royal Navy acknowledged Poland's contribution to peaceful cooperation in Europe and the world.

Talking to PAP journalist Anna Gembicka, Admiral Waga stressed the very friendly atmosphere of the talks. "Contacts between the Polish Navy and Royal Navy will be continued, with the HMS 'Bristol' paying a return visit to Gdynia still this year," he said.

The ORP "Warszawa" ended its four-day courtesy visit to Great Britain today. During the stay in Britain, the command of the voyage called on the high-rank representatives of the Royal Navy and the local authorities with the mayor of London, Christopher Collett.

The crew and officer cadre of the Polish destroyer met with sailors and officers of Britain's Royal Navy on board of the "Warszawa" and in training centers of the Royal Navy.

Tribute was paid at the sites of Polish national remembrance.

Poliltburo Report to Second PZPR Conference

AU0905170589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU (Supplement) in Polish 2 May 89 pp 1-23

["Programmatic Report to the Second National Conference of PZPR Delegates," signed by the Politburo of the Polish United Workers Party]

[Text] The Second National Conference of Delegates is to assess the implementation of the resolutions and decisions of the 10th Congress; provide an answer to the question whether the party has altered itself satisfactorily; and define long-term and shorter-term tasks, especially those that may arise as a result of the June elections. That is the most important issue today.

The conference will undertake its work enriched with the experience of 15 years of regional meetings. These have provided many valuable opinions, assessments, and conclusions, which are reflected in this programmatic program.

On the Path of Reforms and Transformations

The years that have passed since the 10th Congress of the Polish United Workers Party (PZPR) have brought profound changes to the state, economy, and society.

We have achieved qualitative progress in national accord, in socializing the exercising of authority, and in consolidating the political position of representative bodies. Overcoming bureaucratic opposition and, at the same time, eliminating the danger of an anarchization of social life, we are gradually reverting to the democratic ideas of socialism. New institutions of people's authority have arisen. The social base of the political reforms has expanded considerably. Civil rights and liberties, political and trade union pluralism, and the openness of political life have all increased. The guarantees for law and order have been expanded and preserved. The average annual increase in the national income is making the achievement of the level of national income called for in the 10th Congress Resolution possible by the end of the present 5-year period. The legal basis for unrestricted economic activity already exists. Poland's position in the international arena is improving all the time.

Our detailed plans and intentions have been thwarted many times by social life, economic circumstances, and profound political divisions within society. We found ourselves facing many barriers and obstacles, including those inside ourselves, in the form of habits and weaknesses. Looking back, we realize that the changes could have been more rapid, and our activity more militant and determined.

We implemented the the 10th Congress resolutions under difficult internal and external conditions. There are many problems that we failed to solve. The effects of the outdated structure of the economy, restrictions and discrimination, high debts, and economic imbalance are a heavy burden on Poland. The high rate of inflation is weakening the effects of market mechanisms, diminishing the positive results of the reforms, having a major effect on the standard of living, and affecting society's feeling of security. There is increasing dissatisfaction because of the burdens of daily life, shortage of basic commodities, poor functioning of services, and damage to the environment.

The nation's social and development problems can only be solved as a result of bold and effective economic, social, and political reforms. Therefore, the major changes brought by the decisions of the 10th Plenum are all the more important. At the same time, these decisions reaffirm our faith in the strategic line of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. This line is included in the "PZPR Program" which the 10th Congress adopted, and was expounded at the Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Central Committee Plenums. This line does not represent a departure from our political values and principles, although many existing fears and doubts are understandable. On the contrary, this line is a way of accelerating changes and bringing about a modern, prosperous, and democratic Poland. A creative contribution to this line was made by the Third National Ideological-Theoretical Conference, which presented the outline of the minimum ideological order that is needed so much.

The "Roundtable" [subtitle]

Guided by the supreme interests of the nation and seeking ways to accelerate development, we undertook "roundtable" talks.

We put forth this initiative as a party which is aware of its particular responsibility for Poland's fortunes. It has turned out that accord, dialogue, and joint solutions are possible; despite differences, prejudice, and mistrust. Such is the opportunity that has been created by means of a profound change of attitudes not only among the opposition, but also in our own ranks. The interests and arguments of those forces that equate socialist Poland's future with democracy, pluralism, broad civic rights, and economic rationality have prevailed. Realistically-minded and constructive opposition forces have made a commendable contribution to the adopted accord. The implementation of these decisions may signify a breakthrough in improving the situation in the country and creating a new shape of socialism in Poland.

However, the "roundtable" on its own does not represent a new quality of political life. It is an exceedingly important change, one that creates new chances. It is a stage on the road to development.

We do not consider the "roundtable" decisions to be a program of maximal Polish reforms. On the contrary, many other new innovative solutions are possible. The practical results of this great historic test will determine the way and speed with which the political system and socioeconomic order develop. Everyone who took part in those talks should accept the political consequences of a new, expanded pro-reformist coalition. Together with us, every participant should protect the fresh and still crumbly achievements of the latest months.

Today, accord is encountering dangers that are not insignificant. After all, just because the "roundtable" has ended does not mean that the conditions for a successful implementation of the reform policy have improved automatically.

Even with its new parliamentary opposition and legally active "Solidarity" independent trade union, Poland will continue to struggle with many difficult economic problems, including economic imbalance and high inflation; nor can one expect a rapid solution to the problem of debts.

The political dangers are numerous. The progress in national accord has not eliminated them completely. The experience of 1980 and 1981 teaches us to be wary of optimistic forecasts. The message of those years remains the same. We react with concern to any signal indicating that there are forces that have failed to draw any conclusion from the events of those times.

The new stage of accord, renewal, and reform is also a period of struggle. However, the fronts in this struggle are holding different positions than the ones they held in the past.

Extremist forces and tendencies and all those who insist on pursuing the line of confrontation; harming the accord process; and undermining Poland's stability, credibility, and international position must be firmly combatted. On the other hand, it is also necessary to resist conservative tendencies harbored by members of the political and economic apparatus who are accustomed to the centralist-bureaucratic method of power.

Democracy Also Means Responsibility

The extent of and permanence of national accord depends on a recognition of civil liberties and an observance of the law. Our national experience tells us that without a suitable balance of freedom and responsibility, democracy turns into the very opposite of what it is meant to be; it leads to a weakening of state authority.

Today, democracy means commitments from all participants in the dialogue and national accord. It means responsibility from them for public affairs. The climate and achievements of the "roundtable" may and should become permanent and establish dialogue at every level of political activity. Dialogue is not paving a way for itself easily. Occasional attempts to discredit one's partner and his intentions and activity are harming the idea of coexistence and joint activity between various political forces.

The only intelligent and rational prospect for Poland today is permanent coexistence between the ruling political forces and opposition according to clear and honest principles. Only then will the opposition be a creative force that improves the country's political and economic order. Asking "who is against whom" and drawing up scenarios of future easy victories by one side only is a road that leads nowhere!

We openly say yes to accord, partnership, and democracy. However, all this also calls for loyalty to each other and joint responsibility among the partners of dialogue. We are not avoiding this loyalty and responsibility. We have the right to expect the remaining "roundtable" participants not to do so either.

Reforms and the Achievement of 45 Years [subtitle]

The changing Polish socialism, geared toward man and his needs and toward the future, is at the same time a creative continuation of everything that is tried and tested and serves the people well; in other words, the national achievement of the past 45 years. Our approach toward this achievement entails criticism and self-criticism. Nevertheless it is a frank approach. We will always emphasize the chief components of this national achievement of the past 45 years:

—The unprecedented advancement of those who produce the national income; chiefly workers and peasants;
—The training of many millions of highly qualified cadres;
—The creation of a strong social and industrial basis for Poland's development;
—The attainment and preservation of unprecedented guarantees of the inviolability of our borders.

On behalf of the entire party, we say to all educational cadres: Let us make sure that the past 45 years are assessed honestly. That is our duty to history, and especially toward the generations of veterans of labor and struggle. It symbolizes our recognition for their toil and sacrifice for the sake of the fatherland.

The Socialist Identity of the Reforms

In creating a new political and economic order, our party is developing the socialist identity of the system. The aim of these efforts is:

—a humanist orientation geared toward man, his aspirations and longing for a dignified, comfortable life;
—raising the status of work as the source of people's material position and satisfaction;
—the creation and strengthening of social justice and a feeling of social security. This applies, first and foremost, to the right to work; democratic, equal access for all to the system of national education; and concern on the part of the state for the development of national culture, universal health care, protecting the standard of living of pensioners and of families with large numbers of children, and of those who, for reasons beyond their control, have found themselves on the verge of poverty, as well as a concern for the development of and access to national culture.

The PZPR primarily links the development of the country to strengthening the modernity and effectiveness of the socialized economy. As the dominant form of ownership, it is and will remain the cornerstone of rational and humanist economic development. We are counting on profound changes in the economy, on greater efficiency, and greater sovereignty on the part of working people.

While supporting the creation of conditions for the development of initiative and enterprise in all sectors and their equal treatment, the party considers the interests of those employed in the socialized economy, especially the workers class, to constitute a special requirement for its policy. We are in favor of debureaucratizing methods of managing the economy, although, at the same time, we are not in favor of its reprivatization, but of real social ownership of state and cooperative property.

The PZPR links prospects for socialism in Poland with a strong and efficient state that is a parliamentary democracy, with the fostering and development of a civic society, the development of self-management, and a high regard for the law. Within this framework and operating within a coalition of democratic and socially progressive forces, we wish to be the main, effective political guarantor of the socialist system in Poland. There is room within this system for opposition activity that is conducted within the law and in the interest of the law and for political, social, economic and union pluralism.

The International Significance of Polish Experience

In many respects, Polish experience has turned out to be experience of a pioneering kind for the changes that are taking place in the socialist community. However, this experience often entailed high costs. It required difficult searches and carried with it the danger of mistakes. It did not spare us the taste of failure and a lack of understanding, even within our own ranks.

For 4 years now, the process of institutional renewal in Poland has been in tune with the trends and directions of the changes taking place in the Soviet Union and in some of the other socialist countries. This is an affirmation of socialism's vitality and its capacity for revolutionary changes that are consonant with the fundamental interests of working people.

We are currently experiencing the profoundest changes to have occurred in the history of the socialist community thus far. We are reassessing socialism's developmental paths. We are changing our approach to socialism's role in the development of human civilization.

The reforms that are taking place in socialism are helping to cleanse the international atmosphere of the remnants of the Cold War and are accelerating the crumbling away of the "Iron Curtain" in Europe. The changes that are taking place in our part of the world are making the international community of East and West increasingly conscious of the overriding importance of common needs, challenges, and dangers.

The Elections Lie Ahead of Us

We are entering the June elections while facing a difficult socioeconomic situation, but conscious of our strength and programmatic modernity and with a desire to overcome obstacles and to consolidate and increase the achievements of socialism that ensure that national aspirations are fulfilled.

What we are above all consciously stressing in the election campaign—the "roundtable" accords are its common foundation—is what links and unites us with other sociopolitical forces. This is because what matters above all is the supreme national interest. While preserving our unmistakable identity, we do not avoid and are not afraid of election competition and political rivalry. This is also the attitude that we expect all our partners and rivals in the election campaign to display. A departure from or the violation of any of the principles adopted at the "roundtable" by any one of its participants would be evidence of a lack of a feeling of political responsibility. It would also be a short-sighted action. This is because the decisions agreed at the "roundtable" were approved by a definite majority of society.

The PPR Sejm and Senate elections will be an important test of our party's strength and maturity. We are entering the elections without amy complexes and with our heads held high. We are aware of our mistakes and weaknesses, but also of our numerous strong points. What matters most of all is the form that Poland assumes, and this is gradually emerging from our programs and actions. We discussed Poland at the "roundtable," and we achieved accord under difficult conditions for the good of Poland.

The PZPR will seek public support for its program of:

—creating a political order whose focal point is the citizen, his right to political, economic, and cultural freedoms, democratic participation in the government, and equality before the law for all;

—developing various forms of autonomous participation by working people in decisionmaking affecting their towns, villages, occupational communities, and workplaces;

—ensuring social calm and security for the citizen, and creating mechanisms for resolving disputes and avoiding conflicts;

—reforming the national economy so that it increasingly acquires the capacity to effectively satisfy society's material needs, creating opportunities for the development of collective and individual initiative, rewarding efficiency, and the elimination of wastefulness;

—restoring economic equilibrium, and stepping up requirements of efficient management and thrift as a means of overcoming inflation and improving the condition of the zloty;

—making food, housing needs, and environmental protection priorities in state economic policy;

—consolidating equality of opportunity and universal social security, creating a system of payment for those employed in the socialized economy and the budget sector that functions well and fairly, and creating such a system for the incomes of agricultural producers, as well as protecting the standard of living of pensioners, recipients of benefits, and families with many children;

—improving initial career opportunities and increasing opportunities for the development of initiative and for advancement and activity on the part of young people;

—a cultural and educational policy that ensures universal access to culture and to education, extensive support for science, education, and culture from the state and society, and protecting these spheres of public life from the effects of commercialization;

—struggling against cliquishness and corruption, against excessive bureaucracy in the functioning of all governmental and administrative bodies, and against indifference and arrogance toward citizens needs and complaints;
—activity by our state and party in Europe and the world in the interest of Poland's security and sovereignty; striving to achieve detente and disarmament; building a common European home; and achieving qualitative progress in the socioeconomic integration of the countries belonging to the socialist community.

The new term-of-office of the reformed Polish Parliament will almost last until the end of the 5th decade of the existence of the People's Poland. We will seek to win social acceptance for our program and will support Sejm and Senate candidates who pledge to realize it.

The Party Socioeconomic Strategy

The Permanence of the 9th and 10th Congress Lines [subtitle]

The "roundtable" session confirmed that there is no realistic alternative to the party socioeconomic strategy initiated by the Ninth Extraordinary Congress. A course geared toward the development of a socialist market economy along with a strengthening of the principles of social justice, incomes that are consonant with labor productivity and enterprise economic performance along with more effective protection for the economically weakest groups, freedom of economic activity and equality for all ownership sectors along with the combatting of parasitism, speculation, and economic irregularities, enterprise independence and work force self-management along with responsibility for economic performance, and opening up the economy to the rest of the world—these are the features of the socioeconomic model that is being developed, one that combines the merits of socialism with the requirements of a high level of economic efficiency.

An assessment of the implementation of the economic reform over a period of more than 7 years gives rise to the following question: Why have the results that have been achieved so far not met social expectations? Difficulties of an objective nature such as the stifling effect of the foreign debt or our antiquated economic structure do not provide a full explanation. Overcoming barriers and obstacles of a subjective kind stemming from people's conservative attitudes as well as the interplay of the interests of various social groups has proved to be significantly more complicated than was initially thought.

Drawing conclusions from the past and, in particular, taking account of the weaknesses in economic policy that existed and continue to exist in practice, the party will seek to ensure the more effective implementation of the socioeconomic line that has been mapped out. It will not do so by direct means, but by fully respecting constitutional powers and principles for the operation of organs of government and the state administration. If the need arises, it will express criticism of the socioeconomic policy being implemented by central and regional administrative bodies and, at the same time, it will propose more effective solutions.

The Need to Consolidate Action in the Most Important Spheres [subtitle]

During the next 2 years (1989 and 1990), the growth of negative economic trends should be halted, and improvements in the most important spheres should occur. In particular, supplies of commodities to the market should increase, shopping should become easier to do, the negative tendencies in housing construction should be eliminated, and inflation and the fall in the purchasing power of the zloty should be halted.

At the same time, the functioning of the state administration and public services should improve markedly—including that of banks, post offices, and health institutions. This will be achieved by eliminating outdated rules; improving work organization; making better use of equipment; and introducing a wage system that offers bonuses for work efficiency, competence, and good service.

One must not limit oneself to short-term objectives. It is essential to reach to the future. In many spheres, only the basis for long-term solutions can be established over the next 2 years.

By 1995, the economy should be fully balanced, with a good domestic market; the housing situation should improve; pollution should be halted; and the general state of the natural environment should improve.

During these 2 years, increases in the prices of goods and services should be limited to 10 percent per year. By 1991, the zloty should be stronger and should by then be a partly convertible currency, followed by complete convertibility later.

Each of these priority objectives (the food economy, housing construction, environmental protection) is more than just a promise of improvement. It is a commitment to concrete and consistent action. To overcome helplessness, it is essential to set new economic mechanisms and social forces in motion.

Priority for the Food Economy [subtitle]

Among the party's socioeconomic priorities, an important position is occupied by the development of the food economy and the modernization of rural areas. We said in the 10th Congress resolution: "Agriculture must be a powerful component of the entire economy. Without modern rural areas, there will be no modern Poland."

Developing and modernizing the rural areas is a national requirement. Every few years, the number of people needing to be fed increases by another few million, at the same time as which agricultural land is lost and used for other purposes. We cannot afford to import food forever.

More food must be produced in Poland. This is only possible if there is intensive agriculture and a modern food economy that makes use of technological achievements. Great financial, material, and organizational outlay is needed if we are to have this kind of agriculture and food economy.

Industrial forces, services, and technology must be organized in such a way that enough investment and production resources are manufactured for the needs of the food economy and rural development. The profitability of agricultural production must be guaranteed, and the farming profession must be accorded respect and recognition for good work.

Our party policy toward agriculture and rural areas calls for consistently adhering to the principle of lasting equality between each economic sector in agriculture. That means that the same approach and same treatment must be accorded to state, private, and cooperative farms, regardless of whether they are large or small. At the same time, we will support favorable changes to the structure of agriculture, and we will shape economic conditions in such a way that they are better suited to changing regional requirements. A recognition of and expansion of agricultural and rural self-management, plus an equalization of the social conditions of rural and urban residents, remains a permanent path of party agricultural policy.

We have laid down policy vis-a-vis agriculture and rural areas jointly with the United Peasant Party. We intend to continue to observe and implement this policy consistently. Each partner has the possibility of presenting original ideas on how to implement the principles that have been established jointly. Our party members in rural areas should cooperate more energetically with members of the Peasant Party.

Removing the Obstacles to Economic Activity and Improving It [subtitle]

Polish society possesses unused energy and enterprise potential. The possibilities for using it are enormous. Apart from the great state enterprises, there is enough room for thousands of small and medium-sized production and service plants, whether state-owned, cooperative, or private. A relaxation of the granting of concessions and carrying out of controls and the creation of new conditions that encourage initiative, development, and enterprise—those are the qualities of the new style of economic management.

The bureaucratic barriers to economic activity in each sector of the economy, whatever the type of ownership, will soon be eliminated completely. Regardless of their form of ownership (state, cooperative, communal, self-managing, private, company with limited liability, and so on), enterprises will function according to the same stable economic principles and legal regulations. In 1989 and 1990, all economic units will be assured of equal economic, financial, and fiscal conditions.

The Development of Workers Self-Management [subtitle]

Workers self-management is an important part of the Polish concept of socialism. Its development is a permanent feature in the process of restructuring socioeconomic relations. This provides a basis for the success of radical reforms. It permits management efficiency to be reconciled with the supremacy of working people, and a real socialization of production and distribution.

Overcoming Monopolistic Practices [subtitle]

The high degree of monopolization in the Polish economy is a threat to the reform. It prevents competition, and therefore a proper functioning of the market. Monopolistic structures should be dismantled over the next 2 years. Intermediaries in trade should be abolished wherever possible. The problem of "intermediary bodies" in the economy should be resolved in a radical manner by abolishing the financial transactions that provide the financial basis for various kinds of compulsory trade organizations.

A New Role of the State in the Economy [subtitle]

The development of economic relations and the pro-market orientation of enterprises does not diminish the central authorities responsibility for selecting the correct paths of socioeconomic development. This calls for changes to the economic influence of central authorities. Despite the changes that have taken place at central level, this influence is still the weakest part of the reform. Better preparatory work and a simplification and acceleration of the decision-making process should ensure a high quality, stability, and cohesion of systemic solutions.

Accountability and control must be kept to a minimum. It is essential to reexamine the legal rules governing the reform, so that these rules do not delay it. The reform must be implemented in a radical manner, yet this implementation must still adhere to the law. The law is a threat to the reform only when it is created by bureaucrats for bureaucrats. Practical conclusions for steering the Polish reform process must be drawn from this.

A Better Use of Resources—Immediate Undertakings [subtitle]

The food economy and housing construction industry must receive greater supplies of deficit factors of production—materials, energy, and manpower. Right now, this is only possible by restricting the supply of these factors to other spheres.

It is essential to diminish the production of the most energy and material-intensive products—mainly in the cement, metal, and chemical industries. The current level of output must be guaranteed by means of a full use of the potential of the most efficient enterprises. The material and energy resources gained this way will be used for the manufacture of consumer goods, housing construction, and agriculture.

More and more materials, energy, and production potential will be transferred from the defense industry to civilian industry in order to produce consumer goods, especially durable ones.

Investments will be restricted. In particular, the construction of administrative buildings will be reduced. In the case of projects financed out of the budget, decisions to commence such projects should be taken according to administrative procedure. On the other hand, projects paid for by enterprises themselves should be restricted by means of the application of economic instruments.

The Restructuring of the Economy [subtitle]

A fundamental restructuring of the economy has to be effected as quickly as possible. The effects of this will only become apparent gradually and will only become fully apparent in several years time once restructuring becomes the main direction of the National Socioeconomic Plan for the Years 1991-95. These changes should involve reducing expenditure on raw material industries accompanied by internal restructuring (in steel-making, for example) and increasing expenditure on:

—the production of new material and semi-finished commodities that are less energy-intensive, more durable, and have better functional properties;

—creating material- and energy-saving technologies and techniques;

—the creation of an infrastructure that will facilitate better use of resources—such as refrigerated storage facilities and granaries in the food industry, a high tension power grid, coal enriching facilities—and, at the same time, protecting the natural environment;

—the creation of industry that meets the highest world technological standards and is based, among other things, on cooperation involving foreign capital;

—in priority areas, in agriculture and the food-processing industry, housing construction, environmental protection, and exports.

Environmental protection should become an important direction of restructuring. Action aimed at arresting damage to the natural environment and gradually restoring to it its place in the life of man must be accompanied by the creation of a new branch of the national economy based on modern technology and techniques that, while protecting the environment, will be a source of income for society through, among other things, the use of waste materials, coal dust, and soot.

Solving the Energy Problem [subtitle]

The Polish economy faces a serious energy problem. If radical action is not taken over the next 3 to 4 years, the fuel and energy balance will collapse. It is no longer possible to avert this danger solely by increasing production of energy. There is only one strategic line: the more efficient use of energy and lowering the energy-intensiveness involved in producing national income. Immediate results can be obtained without investment expenditure, but the long-term solution calls for replacing energy with the most up-to-date technology.

More Efficient Use of Manpower [subtitle]

In many regions and in many fields, a shortage of manpower is the main factor limiting production of consumer goods (in Lodz, for example) or housing construction (in Warsaw, for example). Surmounting this obstacle and developing a labor market is an essential condition for increasing efficiency.

This calls for, among other things:

—abandoning production in ineffective and technologically outdated enterprises. Society cannot shoulder the cost of losses stemming from inefficiency on the part autonomous enterprises or private businessmen. Employees of plants that are closed down will be directed to enterprises that are managed more efficiently and possess modern equipment. This will help to raise productivity and increase employees' incomes. The principles agreed at the "roundtable" for protecting employees in plants that are affected by restructuring will be fully observed;
—reducing employment in the administration, intermediate bodies, and the supervisory apparatus;
—eliminating formal barriers and enabling pensioners and women to take up work on a part-time basis;
—amending or removing regulations that make it difficult to dismiss unproductive employees and to adjust employment levels to real enterprise needs;
—eliminating regulations that make it impossible or difficult for one employee to perform various functions although this would be in the interest of the employee and the enterprise.

The enterprise recovery and bankruptcy mechanism should become a permanent means of making effective use of factors of production. Stricter procedures need to be applied with respect to enterprises that are economically sick and do not have real prospects of recovery. The practice of extending the duration of recovery procedures should be stopped.

A Total Struggle Against Inflation [subtitle]

Constantly increasing the supply of consumer goods and services to the maximum extent and a general increase in operational efficiency constitute the most important condition for arresting inflation and attaining market equilibrium. However, it is not sufficient by itself. In addition, it is essential that the principles of prices and incomes policy, and fiscal and monetary policies be such that, while bolstering incentives to boost production, they ensure that inflation is "extinguished" and that supply and demand are brought into line with one another. The following are particularly necessary:

—the introduction and observance of the principle that what has been produced and allocated for distribution is all that can be distributed at the state level;—a reduction in the budget deficit, followed by its elimination and the rationalization of budget expenditure;
—the basing of credit policy on sound economic principles;
—the creation of strong incentives for the expansion of production and for higher levels of efficiency in all sectors of the economy. People should enjoy equality of opportunity with respect to earning and increasing income, regardless of in which sector of the economy they are active.

It Is Not Possible To Eliminate Inflation Without an Effective Prices Policy [subtitle]

Prices policy should serve to gradually restore market equilibrium and, at the same time, to check the general rate of price growth. Whether the policy succeeds will largely depend on whether income growth and the money supply can be kept within limits that are justified economically. A factor aiding this policy will be economic activity in various sectors of the economy and increasing competition in the marketplace.

During the transitional period—that is, the period during which normality is restored in the marketplace and competition is fully developed—it is essential that the state exercise a more effective influence on price levels than at present. It is also envisaged that the approach to prices will vary depending on the degree of equilibrium in a given sector of the marketplace, the extent to which a monopoly exists, and the sector's level of social importance.

More Effective Protection Against the Effects of Price Growth [subtitle]

Radical reforms require effective protection for the weakest social strata and the economically weakest households, with particular attention being given to the growth of prices.

The party shares the opinion of trade unionists on the question of introducing indexation as a means of offsetting the effects of higher prices in line with the principles agreed upon at the "roundtable." The following factors were taken into consideration in determining the principles of indexation:

—indexation, as a method of maintaining employees' standard of living, should not serve to boost inflation;
—indexation should be based on the resources for paying wages that an enterprise possesses and should not involve the use of other sources of finance, which would necessitate higher retail prices in the marketplace;
—concrete indexation measures will be based on what is agreed upon by trade unionists and management in a given workplace once work force opinion has been consulted.

Being advocates of enterprise independence, we believe that decisions concerning concrete indexation formulas should be made in the enterprise.

Toward a New Social Policy [subtitle]

Social benefits will be reorganized with a view to eliminating those provisions that limit occupation activity or lower productivity. Social benefits will be targeted more precisely. That is the direction in which the proposals for reforming the system of social benefits that have been submitted at the National Delegate Conference tend.

Our vision of a new economic order does not diminish, but, on the contrary, raises the importance of state social policy and its consonance with economic policy. This should yield a greater general feeling of social security without reducing the incentive to work and prudence in seeking to improve one's own position. The resources that can be obtained for social protection should be directed at those individual and social groups that really require care and direct support from the state.

The policy for protecting working people during the process of attaining economic equilibrium and introducing market principles will take account of:

—the need for employee social security;
—the requirement that the economy be based on sound economic principles;
—the absolute necessity of exercising an influence that provides an incentive to both employees and enterprises;
—the necessity of eliminating unjustified pay differences, especially those that exist between the budgetary sphere (for example, health care, education) and the production sphere;
—improving and maintaining socially justified ratios between pension and benefit rates and average wage. Steps should be taken to ensure that the real value of social benefits is protected.

The Unity of Social and Economic Policy [subtitle]

Affirming and, at the same time, expounding the principles of social policy and security, we emphasize that rational economic management is the material basis for a successful social policy and social security. The speed with which the economy is healed and standard of living improved depends mainly on society's support for a new economic order and its realization of the need to observe rational economic rules. The accord concerning economic reform matters places upon the chief social forces the duty to settle disputes, curb claims, and seek platforms of consensus on the subject of prices and incomes policy.

Closer Links With the World Economy [subtitle]

The party favors increasing Poland's participation in international economic life, and steadily increasing its involvement in the world division of labor. Access to foreign markets means access to modern products and technology. Foreign cooperation means, at the same time, the need to meet the world market's high requirements. This acts as an incentive for scientific progress. Economic openness means greater competition on the domestic market, essential in order to possess a reformed economy.

The Development of Socialist Integration [subtitle]

Approving the achievements of the past few years during our cooperation with CEMA, we consider it essential to modernize this cooperation and alter its economic and financial mechanisms, so that a socialist common market with an unrestricted and mutually advantageous flow and transfer of goods, services, capital, and manpower may be created. We attach particular importance to a further expansion of comprehensive economic and scientific relations with the Soviet Union. During our cooperation with the Soviet side, we will aim to create a new pattern of relations based on healthy economic principles and on a sound functioning of enterprises.

Self-managing and self-financing economic units, efficient economic mechanisms, sound cooperation and integration, and scientific progress should all provide the stimulus for even greater cooperation and integration. Poland supports the idea of making socialist currencies convertible.

Overcoming the Barrier of Debts [subtitle]

The most difficult problem is to overcome debts and normalize economic relations with the capitalist countries. Even though we have repaid $12.5 billion over the past 7 years, in recent years we have also been paying about $2 billion a year in interest. Our debt is rising all the time. Poland fully honors, and declares its desire to discharge, its foreign obligations. However, repayments cannot be made at the expense of the standard of living and the country's development.

We expect Poland's foreign partners to understand that a country's economic growth rate, and therefore an increase in its exports, depends closely on how the repayment of debts is scheduled and how high the interest is. A continuation of the financial and credit relations that have been applied so far is not only affecting the Polish economy and society, but is also having an indirect bearing on Poland's foreign creditors. We expect a change of attitude toward Poland. In particular, we want a rescheduling of Polish debts, taking into account the concessions accorded to other countries. We also expect the deadlock concerning credits from the IMF and World Bank to be broken.

Scientific Progress Will Decide [subtitle]

Modernity, quality, competitiveness of products, and scientific progress are the criteria by which the correctness of socioeconomic strategy is judged. The party holds a critical view of the situation in this sphere. The degree to which production has been revived is still low, and the results of scientific progress are incommensurate with the money that has been spent on research. It is necessary to compare Polish experience with foreign experience, and implement a comprehensive program to modernize the production base. To this end, systemic solutions and economic mechanisms will be established. Organizational structures, management over economic and scientific progress, and the selection and incomes of cadres must be made subordinate to this objective. A suitable investments policy and policy of economic restructuring will be pursued. Exports and imports strategy and the principles of foreign cooperation must also be adjusted accordingly. Success in this sphere will determine Poland's start in the 21st century.

A Socialist State of Parliamentary Democracy and Civic Society

After the June elections, the political system will have a very different shape from the one before. It will be a model of parliamentary democracy under socialism. It will ensure the supremacy of democratically elected representative bodies that reflect the pluralistic views and assessments of society. It will provide a broad political platform for an encounter of different views and interests and for the reaching of accords on vital Polish matters. It will signify a consolidation of the law. At the same time, it will strengthen guarantees that the welfare of working people occupies top position in state policy.

Not even the most democratic state is an aim in itself. The political system and economy do not fill the entire space of national existence. We define the space left vacant by means of the term "civic society." This is a society in which the supremacy of each citizen, social group, and local milieu is guaranteed, and in which there are broad possibilities for self-management, initiative, responsibility, and a comprehensive flow of information.

The Reform of Supreme State Bodies [subtitle]

A special duty of the party will be to see that the Sejm occupies a high political position as the supreme legislative body, and that there is constructive cooperation between the Sejm and the Senate. It is the Parliament that should be the chief guarantee for the implementation of the "round-table" accord and similar accords in future.

The new political institution of president of the Polish People's Republic (PPR) will be a stabilizing factor in the political system. It will also guarantee the political continuity of the Polish state and its security and international alliances. If need be, the holder of this office may also act as mediator and arbiter in political issues.

The PZPR favors a strong government position in the new structure of state bodies, and of a clear definition of its powers and responsibility vis-a-vis the Senate and State Tribunal. The PZPR declares its full recognition of the supreme position of parliament vis-a-vis executive bodies. As one of the forces present inside state representative bodies, we will provide the government with sociopolitical inspiration and control its work through the party members that belong to it and by political methods.

Strengthening the Impartiality of Courts and Legal Reform [subtitle]

The PZPR favors strengthening the political position of the courts. It is necessary to expand the scope of jurisdiction to include economic disputes. Judges should receive wider powers of self-government. Abolishing terms of office of the Supreme Court and making judges irremovable from office will strengthen the foundations of judicial impartiality and the independence of the judiciary.

The general judiciary should receive and will receive increasing support in the work of the Constitutional Tribunal, State Tribunal, Civic Ombudsman, and Supreme Administrative Court. The party considers itself to be jointly responsible for the permanent high position of these institutions.

The bodies that guard public order and security share some of the responsibility for protecting the democratic transformations in Poland and the implementation of the expanded civil rights and liberties. We are counting on continuing high efficiency from them and on a feeling of civic responsibility on the part of their cadres.

We consider it essential to accelerate work on a penal code reform and adapt this code to the democratic changes. The code should be better suited to the expanding rights and liberties of citizens.

The Development of Self-Management in Cities and Rural Areas [subtitle]

A consolidation of people's councils and the entire system of self-management is an important component in the development of a civic society. The right of local communities to form self-management bodies should be guaranteed by the constitution. It is essential to limit supervision over local self-management bodies to checking whether they adhere to the law. Self-management bodies should have the right to appeal to the Supreme Administrative Court and general courts against decisions from state bodies.

The extent of self-management is mainly dependent on the size of the material resources available. Systemic economic solutions should enforce efficient action by local authorities; reward initiative, energy, and rationality in undertakings; and promote the principle "he who manages resources better has more of them." The size of local budgets must depend on good management of resources by enterprises and other economic units in the area in question. It is also high time to remove the "screen" that protects cities and rural areas that are incapable of efficient management.

We are in favor of the right of self-management bodies to create communal production enterprises, service institutions, and banks.

The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] [subtitle]

When creating new political institutions and equipping them with political functions, and when expanding civic-self-management and forms of civic dialogue, it is necessary to make the best use of the accumulated and tried and tested experience of existing institutions and organizations.

We are entering a new stage of national accord. PRON is the product of this accord, and also an inspiration for it. It has played an important, creative, and frequently unprecedented role in many spheres of social activity. It has been a forum where new political thinking matured, dialogue expanded, and mistrust was overcome.

The changing social and political situation requires a new definition of PRON's role and structure, so as to make it a broad forum of dialogue between associations and social movements, and a platform of support for various local ideas. An expansion of the scope of civic activity should lead to a new shape for PRON in future.

In a Coalitional Alliance [subtitle]

The coalition between the PZPR, United Peasant Party (ZSL) and Democratic Party (SD) is a permanent foundation of the Polish political order. We are providing a new dimension to this order by holding consultations with our allies. Greater joint responsibility for the socialist state is a feature of this new dimension. We are strengthening our partnership. We are permitting the joint working out of national development programs and a joint search for the best solutions to the country's problems. We are eradicating to the very end various bad habits, stereotypes, and a bureaucratic approach toward coalitional joint activity.

The coalitional alliance does not exclude the possibility of different views on how to solve problems. We will consolidate our allied unity on a new pluralistic and prosocialist basis.

On the basis of the tripartite coalition, and in concert with associations of Catholics and lay Christians, social organizations and associations, and trade unions, the party will create a broad alliance of forces for the sake of internal reforms to the system. The party, wishing to expand this alliance, calls on all milieus and social movements to whom patriotic values and the ideals of social progress are dear. Equal partnership, a respect for the identity of others, political solidarity—those are the main principles that will guide the party in its daily joint activity with its alliances.

The Right of Association [subtitle]

Legal norms create favorable conditions for realizing the right of association under conditions of social pluralism and within the limits set by the constitutional order.

The PZPR is striving to activate association movements to the maximum degree and in keeping with the law—these movements are an extensive source of civil energy and inventiveness. Association activity is of great significance for the process of self-organization on the part of a civil society. This particularly applies to various economic, educational, and cultural initiatives, and to the ecological movement.

In our opinion, associations, political clubs, and deputies clubs currently provide optimal means for engaging in political activity that differs in content and character, including opposition political activity.

The question of the type of multiparty system that we should have is not closed and has not been settled once and for all. Positive experience at this stage could create conditions and pave the way for increasingly richer organizational forms for the country's political life.

The party will be guided by the principle of openness and goodwill in its behavior toward all social movements and associations that emerge on the Polish scene in accordance with the law. However, we do not intend to stop expressing our own opinions and defending our views. While seeking allies on the left and wherever we see useful ideas and initiatives—for example, in the ecological movement, the pacifist movement, or in economic initiatives—we will at the same time engage in debate and, when necessary, wage a political struggle against aims of an antihumanist, antisocialist kind.

So our position on the question of social and political pluralism is clear-cut: expand guarantees for civil rights and liberties, promote the making of optimal decisions and social supervision of their implementation, assist the expression of various social interests and aspirations and the harmonizing of these interests and aspirations without, at the same time, allowing conflicts to erupt that can threaten the stability of the state and social peace.

The airing of differences should promote social cohesion and strengthen the order based on social accords. Whoever undermines the foundations of the institutional order and the interests of working people, and whoever weakens state security, the guarantees of which are our ability to defend ourselves and our political-defense alliances, places himself outside the bounds of this order of social agreements. This is because the ultimate yardstick for judging the appropriateness of changes to any political system is the extent to which the reforms that are introduced assist the process of solving real problems pertaining to societies' material and cultural existence.

Trade Unions Under Pluralism [subtitle]

The party expressed support for a new formula of union pluralism. We believe that this will be a constructive form of pluralism that will be free from bitter disputes and political struggle and will be imbued with a feeling of responsibility for the state of the economy and the strength of the Polish state.

We are counting on the active participation of all currents of the trade union movement in solving our great economic problems and in realizing the new economic order that is being promoted by the process of socialist reforms and that was reflected in the "roundtable" accords.

The National Trade Union Confederation [OPZZ] trade union movement has our support in its justified efforts to ensure appropriate wages and conditions of employment and in acting in accordance with objective economic interests and the principles of the economic reform. It has acquired considerable influence among the majority of work forces. The majority of party members are involved in its activities. We call on them to be active and to ensure that the trade unions' perform their statutory role in the socioeconomic life of the country and in defending employees' interests.

We see prospects for partnerlike cooperation with other currents in the trade union movement, and with Solidarity in particular. This cooperation can develop better, the more Solidarity will respect the constitutional order, institutional principles, the directions that were set out by the PPR and given concrete form at the "roundtable," as well as statutory trade unions duties. Whether this cooperation will last and whether it is profitable will be decided by time and experience. Time and experience will determine the PZPR's attitude toward Solidarity, and this will also be a factor determining the presence and activity of party members in the newly established unions.

Freedom of Expression and Openness Are a Guarantee of Civil Liberties [subtitle]

The fostering of a civic society also applies to public information and the activities of the mass media. The guiding principle for the development of a new information system should be freedom of expression combined with respect for the legal order in Poland and the strengthening of civil liberties. The presentation of viewpoints and positions and access to comprehensive, honest, objective information is the inalienable right of all who participate in sociopolitical life.

Guided by this principle, the party believes that social movements, organizations, and associations that operate legally have a right to clearly defined access to state radio and television that constitute a single entity organizationally. We support the expansion of the press market to include publications representing opposition currents and freedom for new publishing houses that are subject to the provisions of the law.

We believe that the role of censorship has to be reviewed in light of these principles.

The Development and Dissemination of Culture [subtitle]

The basic premise of party culture policy is a broad understanding of the role of culture, the arts, in the life of society. The arts foster a hierarchy of esthetic and ethical values, and cultivate emotional sensitivity and intellectual inquisitiveness. There is not and cannot be any genuine art without freedoms and a right to choose creative paths and operate within one's own organizations. The practice of judging an artist and his work on the basis of his political or ideological views is alien to us. Our program is to continue the tried and tested line of creating conditions for a culture in which there are various artistic currents and which draws inspiration from various ideologies and world outlooks. The limits are set by fundamental human values. At the same time, we will promote and assist the dissemination of works inspired by progressive and left-wing ideas.

The economic reform is to provide support for an effective cultural policy and not place obstacles in its way. The party is resolutely opposed to the pursuit of profit and to pandering to the lowest tastes. The dissemination of art that is of value, closing cultural gaps, and providing working people with easier access to culture constitute the essence of modern state cultural patronage that is appropriately decentralized.

In the opinion of the party, the following are currently the most urgent tasks for the socialist state's culture policy:

—effectively financing creative work in the arts and its dissemination through the Fund for the Development of Culture;

—reversing the dangerous situation in which books find themselves, especially by way of modernizing and reviving the printing industry;

—implementing the program for the esthetic education of the younger generation.

—developing conditions for the development of the social and cultural movement and modernizing the forms of activity engaged in by traditional cultural institutions, especially libraries and houses of culture.

Education and Learning [subtitle]

A modern economy, an enlightened society, as well as an efficient state must find appropriate support in a system of national education that is oriented toward the future and in well-trained cadres. They will shortly face the growing complexity of the challenges posed by civilization and culture.

The Committee of Experts for National Education Affairs has submitted the results of its innovative work, which took more than 2 years, to delegates to the National Conference of Delegates. The results of the work consist of scenarios that primarily depend on the level of investment in the development of national education that society is prepared to shoulder.

The full version of the report will be submitted before the end of this year. The content of the report will be the subject of extensive social consultations. The results produced by the consultations will be used in formulating the final concept for the development of the Polish education system.

So, without deciding on any concrete measures or dates at this stage, we propose the adoption of several general directions of activity. We deem the realization of these directions to be necessary for the attainment of progress and for preventing stagnation or a decline in education. These directions involve:

—first, a fundamental reform of the system for training and improving the skills of teachers; the rational distribution of tasks between teacher training programs, higher pedagogical schools, universities, physical education colleges, polytechnics, and agricultural, economic, and arts colleges;
—second, improving the teachers' standard of living, the consistent expansion of teaching premises, and improving the provision of the teaching aids, equipment to schools;
—third, a revision of educational doctrine with much greater emphasis being placed on independent thought and the desire to acquire practical skills;
—fourth, the development of an effective and efficient system for bringing up school and college students that will strengthen the social, political, and economic reforms that are taking place in the socialist state,
—fifth, the expansion of the extent of pre-school education, and an increase in the number of young people who continue their education in high schools and colleges.

The party will support activities aimed at giving schools a more public character in various forms, which includes, among other things, the forms initiated by the National Campaign for Aiding the School [Narodowy Czyn Pomocy Szkole]. At the same time, we are against the expansion of private education and the creation of elitist schools. A basic private education system is incompatible with the institutional principle of equality of opportunity and access to schools, and it undermines one of socialism's main achievements in Poland. Private education is an idea that runs counter to the interests of young workers and peasants, and of working people as a whole.

Our Goal Is A Modern Higher Education System [subtitle]

The party's goal is to create a modern system of higher education that is responsive to the developmental needs of the country and harmoniously combines educational, upbringing, and research functions. We consider the development of work with exceptionally gifted young people and the creation of conditions for the optimal development of their talents to rank among our most important tasks. The development of higher education and learning and increasing their role in national progress depend on the formulation and rapid introduction of a modern system of academic careers that will give the green light to the most talented scientific workers.

Through our policy, we wish to support outstanding colleges and aid the creation of better conditions for them to work and develop. We support the consistent implementation of the decisions and resolutions adopted at the Third Congress of Polish Science.

We attach great importance to the effective realization of central research programs. We will initiate and support the reform undertakings that are essential in this area. We consider bringing the process of simplifying planning and financial procedures in science and higher education to its logical conclusion to be an obvious necessity.

The party supports self-management within the academic community and at educational establishments, and the existence of an atmosphere of freedom for scientific work. We are seeking to create a spirit of progress and a climate of accord, dialogue, and freedom in the search for scientific truth in every college and institution.

The party is keenly interested in developing science and higher education. We will strengthen their influence on social, political, and economic decisions.

Policy Toward Religion [subtitle]

In our policy toward religion we are guided by permanent and proven principles: freedom of conscience and of religion, the separation of church and state, the separation of the school from the church, and the equality of all citizens irrespective of their attitude toward religion. These are universal rules that have been confirmed by the experiences of many states and societies, especially on our continent.

The role of representatives of the episcopate at the "roundtable" and progress in the legal regulation of religious relations augur well for qualitatively new cooperation between the socialist state and the Roman Catholic Church. At the same time, this affirms the important role and place of the church in public life. We are interested in the position of all churches and religious denominations becoming a factor that will constantly enrich national accord by promoting common efforts to achieve a social and ethical order, the stability of the state, progress, the strengthening of the work ethic, the protection of the values of family life and our national cultural heritage, and increasing Poland's position and strength in the world.

At the same time, in accordance with our principles, we seek to ensure that the inevitable philosophical and ideological debate will proceed according to high standards of discussion and in the form of dialogue.

Progress in the sphere of religious relations has found tangible expression in the following laws: the law on the stance of the state with respect to the Roman Catholic Church, the law on insurance for members of the clergy, as well the agreements on papal colleges and recognition of academic titles. The team made up of government representatives and Polish Ecumenical Council has also reached agreement on a draft law on guarantees of freedom conscience and religion. It will make it possible to effect a full and equal regulation of the legal status of all churches and denominations. All these pieces of legislation, which are already under discussion by the Sejm, are innovations for socialism and will provide a permanent foundation for the legal order in the sphere of religion in line with social expectations and will aid constructive cooperation between church and state.

The Party

In the Face of a Radical Change to Conditions for Party Work [subtitle]

The party finds itself facing a radical change in the conditions under which it operates, the greatest change in 40 years. We are finally abandoning the model under which the party is present everywhere, decides about everything, and is responsible for everything. However, the changes that have taken place so far are inadequate.

This was one of the basic conclusions to be drawn from the recent individual talks held with party members and the accountability and programmatic meetings and conferences. The most important things that dominated these frank, open talks and discussions was used in the formulation of this report.

The basic problem is: How can it be ensured that under changing conditions and a qualitatively new situation the party will be able to effectively discharge its institutional role as a force that effectively serves the interests of the workers class and of working people as a whole, and ensures progress and advancement for Poland and the Poles, and as the main guarantor of the goals and values of socialism. A truly effective path lies in the use of political methods by party people in accordance with the requirements of democracy, observance of the rule of law, and openness.

The party wishes to implement its program by creating conditions for the airing of various interests, aspirations, and concepts and by taking account of the broadest range of arguments and ideas in programmatic proposals or concrete solutions. In releasing this potential, we have to see to it that it bears fruit in the form of an order of social accords that are subordinated to the highest socialist and national goals. So, this is also a question of preserving the ideological identity and unity of the party as well as of the way in which party organizations, echelons, and party people operate at every level.

This means that every one of the 100,000 primary organizations and every party member have to be constantly present among working people, be profoundly familiar with their needs, and have arguments for leading social initiatives and the activities of active, bold, and effective people.

The workers class and all of society have a right to expect the PZPR to meet the challenge of these tasks and that history will not catch the party by surprise. Today, there is no genuine political force or credible social movement that could replace the party in shaping modern socialism and in maintaining the domestic order and Poland's stability and security. We cannot disappoint these expectations.

There is no danger of the party finding itself in a programmatic vacuum. We know exactly what we want to achieve. Today, we have a more profound understanding of the institutional goal of these changes, and we have a better understanding of the laws of contemporary social development. The experience that we have accumulated makes it possible to act effectively and to enrich our ideological and political identity.

So we will continue to develop programmatic party thinking and discard what remains of Stalinism, the remnants of dogmatism and formalism, by using Marxism as the creative inspiration for the resolution of present and future problems. We are restoring the traditions and values contributed by the Polish current of socialism to their rightful place: the ideas of humanism and democracy, the traditions of the struggle for independence, and internationalism.

In returning to the entire Leninist legacy and viewing it as a source of methodological suggestions, we will provide a more precise definition of its significance for the PZPR's contemporary theoretical and political thought —for today and for tomorrow.

We are reassessing the party's attitude toward the believers within our ranks. The party is a political and, by the very nature of things, a secular force. The party's ideology and political program are based on scientific knowledge and critical materialism. The requirements imposed on party members are of a sociopolitical and a programmatic kind. Personal religious feelings do not determine attitudes toward the goals and values of socialism or toward party policy. There has to be formal approval of the principle that religion is the party member's private matter and is not a criterion for assessing attitudes toward party policy. On the other hand, it is impossible to reconcile membership of the party with political clericalism, as well as with all forms of intolerance toward those who think and feel differently.

Being receptive to the challenges of the contemporary world, we are conducting an extensive examination of the rich achievements of the European and world left—of communists, social democrats, and alternative movements. We will make fuller use of the experience and suggestions stemming from these achievements.

The new conditions for party work and the premises for the development of our political thought that have already been accumulated will be used in work on a new edition of the "PZPR Program." The draft program should be discussed by the whole party before the 11th party congress.

In Defense of Class and National Interests [subtitle]

Current and expected class and sociopolitical changes make it imperative to take a new look at the sources of social support for party policy. While viewing the workers class as the bulwark of support for its policies as well as the force that has the keenest interest in the socialist character of change, the PZPR is beginning to represent the aspirations and desires of all basic groups of working people. This is the sense in which we wish to express and serve universal social and national interests.

Important changes are taking place within the workers class, which is becoming increasingly diverse internally. We are drawing appropriate conclusions from this. The main conclusions pertain to the necessity of uniting workers around the values of socialism—social justice, popular power, and the elimination of social exploitation and economic parasitism. We wish to rally the broadest possible social forces and circles around the realization and defense of these values.

The party faces the task of having to effect an institutional restructuring of the forces and agents of development. This means that there is a need for a clearer link between party policy and the aspirations of employees in modern branches of industry and in plants that are paving the way for progress. In particular, the party must turn to communities that determine the level of national civilization, that is, first and foremost, to the creative, technical, and scientific intelligentsia and to those employed in education.

At this period in time, one in which a scientific and technical revolution is taking place and which sees mankind experiencing great cultural and social changes, the intelligentsia has a special mission to perform. It is our duty to participate in creating conditions for making full use of the Polish intelligentsia's potential of knowledge, civic traditions, and patriotism. It is our duty to create a modern model for the professional advancement and advancement generally of individual groups of the intelligentsia and to ensure appropriate conditions for creative work as a path leading to the realization of material and other aspirations.

The party values and respects the hard work performed by the Polish farmer. This is borne out by, among other things, the actions that the party has taken with a view toward solving the problems of the countryside and its inhabitants, which particularly applies to the conditions of life in a broad sense, to health care, education and culture, and legal advice.

Today, what loyalty to the principle of the worker-peasant alliance means above all is the satisfaction of the aspirations of the economically and socially most dynamic section of the peasant class. Farmers' work and their social attitude, supported by a rational policy toward the rural community, will determine the rate at which and the way in which the underdevelopment of part of Polish agriculture will be eliminated and whether farming's social and economic effectiveness will increase.

Representative Organs Occupy a Key Place in Party Political Work [subtitle]

The democratic election of representative and self-management organs is becoming the most important area for party work. The Sejm, the Senate, people's councils, regional and employee self-management bodies are the very places where the party will have to campaign and fight for support for and the realization of the programs approved by party congresses or party echelons. The importance of the PZPR Deputies' Club and party teams in representative organs will grow immeasurably. It is thus necessary to make appropriate changes to their place in the activities of PZPR echelons and the professional apparatus. Central Committee commissions, and other echelon commissions, should engage in systematic cooperation with party representatives on Sejm and Senate commissions and on people's councils. This type of work must become a permanent practice. The party deputy, senator, or council member cannot just be someone who implements the decisions and resolutions adopted by party authorities. He should actively participate in the formulation of decisions and resolutions.

Concrete proposals pertaining to this area should be examined by the Central Committee at one of its upcoming sessions.

The Two Supporting Columns of Party Activity [subtitle]

PZPR activity must possess two equally strong and permanent supporting columns—one of those is in the workplace and the other is in the place of residence. Until now, we have wrongly treated this second one as something marginal.

Over the next few years regional self-management bodies will become independent materially and organizationally. The inhabitants of towns, housing projects, and villages will assume responsibility for what their places of residence are like, for the ways in which administration, trades and services, and education and culture function. Initiating and fostering this kind of social activity is an important task for primary organizations and party members operating in places of residence.

The organization of party people in their places of residence is already a particularly urgent and important matter during the current parliamentary election campaign. This calls for the expansion of the network of PZPR neighborhood committees with the provision of cadre assistance from political workers. The practice of setting up regional task groups has to be adopted. Plant party organizations should provide more active patronage to PZPR neighborhood committees. More attention has to be given to the proposal—made at the 10th plenum—that party members have dual membership, membership of their workplace organization and the structure in their place of residence.

It would be worthwhile devoting one of the upcoming plenary sessions of the PZPR Central Committee to party's presence in the place of residence.

The party will maintain a constant presence in plants and in plant communities. Enterprises create the material foundations for social life. The enterprise is the place where the fundamental interests of working people are decided and social justice assumes a material form.

The PZPR cells in enterprises act as political guarantors for the implementation of the economic reform initiated by the party. The full implementation of the reform will still require great political effort in overcoming barriers and established ways and in releasing pro-reform energy.

The functions of the PZPR in the enterprise are undergoing a fundamental reassessment. The party's primary role in the enterprise will be that of initiating process that will give ownership and management a more public character, of strengthening work force influence in decisionmaking, and of being a spokesman for the enterprise's long-term interests. At the same time, the reform is changing the order of priorities for party organization tasks, duties, and powers. This problem was highlighted in detail at the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum. We will just repeat that the party's central task is concern for justice in assessing and rewarding people and in combining short- and long-term, and group and national interests.

The "Open Door" Party [subtitle]

Party committee buildings should really become party houses. They should become a place for developing intellectual life, for meetings and discussions on national and community problems, places where both worthy activists and young people feel at home, and places where attractive, useful events and activities take place that satisfy the needs of local inhabitants, needs that are deeply rooted in the everyday life of the local community.

There are many people with interesting ideas and initiative in every community. However, it is often difficult to get through to them because of inertia, even resistance, on the part of administrative and bureaucratic structures. It is the duty of party committees to bring such people together, to accumulate ideas, to note initiatives and support the best of them, to include consultants in their bodies, and to make use of knowledge, keenness, and a feeling of social mission.

A symbolic act that would be indicative of our attitude toward social problems and would also produce tangible results would be the adoption of the initiative launched by regional organization No. 17 in Krakow. The initiative proposes that over the course of the year a kindergarten should be built in every voivodship with funds obtained from contributions made by party members. An initial sounding out by voivodship party committees indicates that one could count on there being support for the initiative. It confirms that party members and organizations are, among other things, prepared to perform additional work in their workplaces and to contribute the money thus obtained to realizing the initiative.

These are just some of the ways in which party cells can strengthen their ties with the community. Other initiatives can easily be found in every party committee, initiatives that might suit local needs and possibilities rather better. There is an urgent need to spread this kind of thinking and acting. It would highlight the party's function and role as a force that serves social needs with respect to both large and small matters.

Cadre Policy: An Opportunity for the Best [subtitle]

The effective use of cadres is a task of national importance. This stems from both the nature of the changes that are taking place in the economy and sociopolitical life as well as from the goals that we wish to attain in the future.

The principles of cadre policy are unambiguous and permanent. The main criteria are expert skills, the ability to effectively accomplish tasks, responsibility for the property one is entrusted with, and the ability to integrate work forces and local communities under conditions of social pluralism and in accordance with the dictates of economic efficiency. We will continue to advocate the idea that managerial cadres should respect the highest state interests.

The party will not renounce its influence on cadre policy, which is one of the universally accepted ways of participating in the exercise of political power.

However, the way in which this policy is implemented calls for important changes. This applies to, among other things, the system that is currently in force of seeking opinions and political recommendation and approval, which is still often treated by public opinion as substitute for the old "nomenklatura" system. However, we have already radically reduced the number of managerial posts—to an eighth of the previous number—that require party approval. Apart from a small group of posts of particular importance for the state, for which the principle of agreement and consultation within the framework of the governing coalition is to be maintained, our influence on cadre decisions should focus on selecting and proposing the best candidates and giving them political support.

One of the party's special tasks is and will remain the promoting of cadres who are able to act efficiently, think in new ways, and display innovative boldness. We support the creation of a market for qualified cadres in which the mechanisms of assessment on the basis of results and competition would be in force, and we support the broadest possible use of competitive selection procedures. We will prepare our own candidates for competitive selection, and, after that, may the best win.

New cadre policy mechanisms cannot be introduced by way of a single act of political will or an administrative decision. It is a process. However, it must proceed more rapidly in order to keep in step with the character and rate of general social change. Only cadres that constantly increase their knowledge and skills can meet contemporary challenges. This is one of the considerations in the completion of work aimed at establishing a Polish Fund for Cadre Advancement.

Work With Young People [subtitle]

New initiatives and actions are already enriching various contacts between party organs and young people. An appropriate and good direction has already been chosen. However, there is still a long way to go before a breakthrough is achieved. In defining the party's attitude toward the problems of the younger generation, we give prominence to three tasks:

—first, the creation of fuller opportunities for young people to realize their own initiatives and aspirations independently;

—second, achieving agreement among and ensuring activity on the part of all instructors in promoting the fundamental values that make up patriotic and civic upbringing;
—third, support for initiatives and activities among young people that have a progressive and prosocialist character without, at the same time, breaking off links with other currents among the younger generation's organizations and associations.

Party policy must be markedly more receptive to youth issues and problems than at present. Socialist youth organizations—the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, the Rural Youth Union, the Polish Scout Union, the Polish University Student Association—and their activities and demands should be treated in a honest and partnerlike way. Party policy should also foster appropriate representation of young people from all social groups in our ranks and in the party's ruling bodies at all levels.

With a view toward preparing future specialist cadres for the country, the party should display particular concern for gifted children and young people. It should create conditions for the development of above average abilities. A special foundation established on the initiative of our party and operating under its patronage could serve this end. The establishment of a foundation of this kind could facilitate the acquisition and use of funds provided by persons, plant organizations, and groups that would like gifted young people to be appropriately trained and furthered and to see their talents cultivated.

Labor Veterans [subtitle]

The party, together with the trade union movement, should initiate essential action that takes account of the needs of people who have a period of professional activity behind them. It is primarily a question of ensuring that they have an appropriate standard of living, as well as of appropriate ways of spending their time, of according them respect and interest, and of increasing the feeling that their experience is still needed and used.

We have a great moral and political duty to look after veterans, including party veterans. They devoted their energy to rebuilding the country, to developing the economy, and to social change. Today they often have a difficult existence. They not only feel the burden of inflation: Unjust assessments are also often made of them. The party must see to it that its long-standing, meritorious members are respected and that their good name is defended.

Democracy is the Cornerstone of Cohesion and Unity in Activity [subtitle]

The system of democracy within the party needs to be fundamentally enhanced. The proposals adopted at the 10th plenum concerning the introduction of the referendum or obligatory internal party consultations does not exhaust all needs and possibilities. Among the things that need to be considered is the question of raising the status of accountability conferences and meetings and equipping them with the right to make programmatic adjustments and to confirm the mandate of party ruling bodies.

A new step along the path of democratization and of strengthening the position of echelons could take the form of the implementation of the principle that members of party committees be elected and recalled by lower level committees and organizations. This would consolidate the two-way nature of cohesion within the party and would increase the responsibility of lower level party cells for the activities of higher echelons and enhance the feeling that the latter serve basic cells.

The main issues is strengthening the independence and initiative of primary party organizations and primary level committees. In practice, centralism continues to dominate the party. There is too little initiative from below and too little independence on the part of those cells that form and organize the party base. The party needs precisely as much centralism as is needed to implement its uniform line. In the end, everything is decided by political will, the ability to act, cohesion within our community, and a feeling of responsibility for the party on the part of its basic cells.

There has to be a simplification of the ways of winning over for the party all those who support its program and are ready to participate in its implementation. This is also an area in which bureaucracy and difficulties arising from formalities are unnecessary and damaging.

Thus, the procedures for entering the party need to be discussed. This gives rise to the question of whether, with primary party organizations becoming increasingly autonomous, membership decisions made by these organizations should continue to have to be approved by party committees? Is a period of candidate membership essential? Does the recommendation requirement for someone entering the party not excessively diminish the significance of the democratic will of the entire primary party organization?

Greater openness in decisionmaking processes and in party life generally are essential. Without this, there can be no accurate understanding of reality and even less chance for optimal decisions. The right of the party member to information on problems and on ways of solving them is not a matter of goodwill, but the duty of echelon leaderships. This is one of the basic forms of party life. The primary party organization has a right to information on substantive or cadre questions that interest it from party ruling bodies at any level. A clear and precise justification should always be provided for the decisions of party ruling bodies.

Changes to the structure of the party, its ruling bodies, and its powers are essential. An extensive package of proposals concerning such changes was submitted at the

10th and 11th plenary sessions of the Central Committee. The proposals pertain to, among other things, intraparty agreements, joint community-based action by party organizations, and the structure and functions of the party's executive apparatus.

It is worth giving consideration to strengthening guarantees of the high political position of party committee commissions. One way of strengthening these guarantees would be to give them some of the powers of party ruling bodies (for example, the right to call committee meetings or the right to propose draft resolutions). The selection of their members should have a broad, democratic basis. For example, part of their membership could be elected by party organizations in the social and occupational communities concerned. Some party organizations and committees have decided on new solutions and ways of operating, both in internal party life and, perhaps especially so, in political activity in the workplace, institution, and community.

However, it should be recognized that the search for new, unconventional work methods and progress in giving the activities of party echelons a more public character, in going over to political operational methods, and opening up to people who are not party members is still far from satisfactory. Initiatives often fail to get below the surface of issues, whereas what are needed are deep changes to operational tasks, models, structures, and principles. We have to initiate and implement such changes.

Discussions and Debates [subtitle]

Open and businesslike discussion within the party, the consistent implementation of the majority view, and, at the same time, respect for and the right to preserve and defend what turn out to be minority views are a condition for the development of party political thought and, at the same time, the only effective way of bring about deeper and genuinely lasting unity of activity.

There must be an exchange of views on the hierarchy of programmatic goals, the ways in which they are to be attained and the order of precedence for their attainment, and the airing of different viewpoints in order to make it possible to adopt the most appropriate standpoint. We will support proposals aimed at developing initiatives concerning the setting up of clubs, publishing, various kinds of contacts between party organizations and committees, and structures of an experimental kind that would have the overall effect of creating new forms of circulating ideas and integrating party members.

In this respect, much depends on the party press and party publications. They should provide more of a forum for political, programmatic searches and debates than at present. It is impermissible for the party press to be closed to texts that express unconventional views and to reject texts simply because they might arouse strong feelings or controversy. Practices of this kind are the surest way of impoverishing party political thought and of permanently discouraging those comrades who are deprived of the right to express their views in violation of their statutory rights. We cannot afford losses of this kind. Today, a fund of commitment and intellectual initiative is priceless.

The openness of the party media is only one aspect of the problem. A further aspect is stepping up their responsibility to provide appropriate information on the party line and to defend it when circumstances call for this. Only a combination of openness and responsibility will yield an appropriate information policy.

The Need for Changes to the "PZPR Statute" [subtitle]

The PZPR 10th plenum concluded that the changes taking place in the sociopolitical system and within the party itself call for fundamental adjustments to the "PZPR Statute." This need was confirmed by the results of the recent individual talks conducted with all party members and the accountability conferences and meetings. The Central Committee has received many suggestions from party organizations and members concerning this issue.

Current solutions are inadequate. Some of them actually hinder essential changes and block initiative on the part of party people. These solutions have to be finally abandoned.

The 11th Party Congress will have the authority to effect definitive changes, but the directions for work on a new Statute already have to be mapped out today.

The actual character of the Statute has to be reassessed. If we want to be a political movement that responds vigorously to changing reality, our Statute cannot be a collection of provisions that strictly regulate the activities of the party member and of party cells and party ruling bodies. It should set out general ideological principles and norms of conduct. It should not create obstacles, but opportunities for new party initiatives and for searches and experiments. We suggest that the Statute should contain a provision that would permit amendments to be made to it by way of party referendums, which would also be a way of resolving other key party issues.

The new Statute should take account of the fact that party members have not had a strong enough feeling of responsibility for the results produced by their actions. This cannot be changed without there being a belief that the party member has a real influence on the program and, in particular, on determining the current party line. Delegates to the National Delegate Conference drew particular attention to this aspect of PZPR activity in their replies to the question contained in the questionnaires that were sent to them. They pointed to personal experience, saying that they felt that they were little used in party work and decisionmaking.

The future Statute should be based on the idea of combining democracy and initiative with operational efficiency and discipline, serve to unite all party members through harmonizing the same ideas although they might not always assume the same form, guarantee self-management within the party and the autonomy of individual organizations and echelons, ensure that decisionmaking processes proceed in the optimal way, and ensure that intellectual and ideological searches proceed in a vigorous manner.

The International Situation and Party International Policy

For mankind, of which we are a part, the decisive issue is survival in the face of threats of a universal kind. That nuclear war would spell the end of mankind has been universally recognized. Other global problems—ecological, food, energy, or demographic problems—are assuming increasing importance.

Disarmament and the Reorganization of International Relations [subtitle]

There has to be a profound reorganization of international relations in order to meet contemporary challenges. This is gradually happening. The use of force or threats to use force are becoming less frequent in international relations. New concepts of universal and national security are emerging and slowly establishing themselves. The atmosphere of confrontation, which was characteristic of the beginning of the 1980s, is giving way to a desire for cooperation. An awareness of contemporary realities and the need for cooperation has found its fullest reflection in Gorbachev's "new thinking." The removal of ideology from international relations, dialogue, the principle of equal security, the primacy of international law and the highest universal human values, as well as the freedom to choose paths of development represent the only appropriate approach to solving even the most complicated disputes and regional and global conflicts that have built up over the years.

A Secure Europe of Peaceful Cooperation [subtitle]

We view the improvement in international relations and the political climate in Europe with relief and hope. We are creatively participating in these processes. Poland feels that it bears a responsibility for Europe's fate and peaceful development and attaches enormous importance to security and cooperation on our continent.

Never before in its 1,000-year history has Poland been so secure within recognized borders. Poland and the Poles have never had such friendly and equal relations of cooperation with all its neighboring states and peoples. This sense of security is ensured by permanent, lasting political-defensive alliances within the Warsaw Pact, which is based on the equal status of all parties as well as on a community of fundamental interests and goals. The strengthening of our alliances, modifying their content and form in line with domestic and international circumstances, accords with the interests of the people and with Polish state interests.

In our relations with Western states, with formations whose goal is integration and with the EEC in particular, we are seeking to eliminate relics of the past and bring down the barriers that hamper cooperation in Europe for the sake of our common interests.

Poland's original contribution is the initiative on reducing weapons and increasing confidence in Central Europe. The Jaruzelski Plan has entered a stage of possible realization and has become an important element in international discussion on the future of Europe and at the Vienna CSCE negotiations. The initiative has bolstered Poland's traditionally active role in dialogue that is aimed at achieving military detente and the strengthening of peace.

We will continue to focus our efforts on the most critical region on our continent— Central Europe—which sees the heaviest military concentration and where the possibility of an armed conflict erupting is the strongest. It is worth recalling the latest decisions made by the Warsaw Pact states, in which Poland played an active part, concerning unilateral reductions in conventional armed forces.

In response to the challenges of the times and new conditions, the Warsaw Pact, the socialist defensive community, has, with Poland's active participation, decided to once again stress the defensive character of its military doctrine in a more public and clearer manner.

We have provided confirmation of our declarations and statements by a unilateral act of goodwill—the restructuring of our Armed Forces and reducing military expenditure.

These are exceptionally complicated matters. On the one hand, the decisions take into account the needs of the national economy and, on the other hand, they meet the requirement of maintaining state defense at an adequate level. After all, a potential threat still exists. Many Western states base their military policy on the principle of "superiority." So far, the NATO states have not reciprocated with reductions in military expenditure, weapons, and forces.

The constant task of the Armed Forces is the defense of national sovereignty and independence, and the defense of peace and security. The Polish Army, faithful to its glorious traditions, has served this cause with a great feeling of responsibility. Today, under new internal conditions, it continues to discharge its patriotic duty in an appropriate manner. At the same time, it is actively participating in the great changes that are taking place in the country. By grouping together young people who subscribe to different views and world outlooks within its ranks, it provides a good school for civic thought and action, and is a force that integrates Poles who are appropriately performing, in various ways, the universal duty of defending the fatherland.

A Poland Open to the World—A World Open to Poland [subtitle]

Our foreign policy goal is not only a Poland open to the world, but also a world open to Poland.

Our country's international activity corresponds to the basic trends in the restructuring of relations between states, in the spirit of universal and humanitarian values, and in accordance with national interests—in other words sovereignty, security, territorial integrity, and favorable conditions for domestic socioeconomic development.

Present Polish foreign policy is being adapted to the paths of the domestic reforms. Its chief task is to create favorable conditions for political and economic changes. On the other hand, any activity aimed at achieving domestic stability and an expansion of accord and dialogue is a constructive contribution to the perpetuation of peace in Europe. Foreign policy is a broad forum for an integration of society around Poland's security and international prestige. Wide openness to the world in every political and geographic direction, broader participation in the international division of labor, and the use of the cultural achievements of others, regardless of cultural, ideological, and political differences—that is one of the chief preconditions for our country's development and modernization.

Relations With Our Allies [subtitle]

Fraternal alliance and close cooperation with the Soviet Union and other countries of our community, and raising the integration of the socialist countries to a higher level—those are the unchanging priorities of our foreign policy.

We are developing our relations with the socialist countries according to the fundamental principles of partnership, each country's independence, noninterference in domestic affairs, and a rejection of any country's right to hold a monopoly over truth and over the establishment of patterns that are binding on others.

The PZPR wants the close relations with the socialist states, marked by a mutual understanding and respect for each other's interests, to manifest themselves more extensively in the form of political, economic, scientific, and cultural cooperation, and in the form of broader direct contacts between societies. The present level of economic integration is far short of our needs and aspirations. The PZPR is aiming toward a profound restructuring of the mechanisms of this integration.

Close links and cooperation between communist and workers parties, the most important source of stimuli to develop relations between our states and societies, is an important part of the rich structure of cooperation between our countries. Today, when most of the socialist countries have realized the need for profound political and economic reforms, and when searches for ways of carrying out these reforms have assumed a different shape in each country according to its national characteristics, an exchange of experiences and programmatic thought is assuming particular importance.

The Socialization of Foreign Policy [subtitle]

The socialization of foreign policy means, on the one hand, openness and society's real control over its implementation; and, on the other hand, each citizen's responsibility for Poland's image abroad. More and more social organizations and milieus are involved in international Polish activity. The assessments and recommendations jointly issued by the leaderships of the PZPR and allied parties are assuming increasing significance. The inspirational and coordinating function of the Sejm and of the international commissions of each party and social organizations is growing. Contacts between parties, socioprofessional organizations, scientific associations, and artistic societies are expanding.

Deserving particular attention is the extragovernmental activity connected with European security. Particularly conspicuous in this sphere is the Sejm marshal's idea of a meeting of European, U.S., and Canadian heads of parliament.

A new phenomenon is the participation of various sociopolitical forces, organizations, and churches, especially the Catholic Church, in international contacts. We hope that all those taking part in international relations, while preserving their independence, will be guided by the Polish raison d'etat and the legal norms in force.

Contacts with Polish communities all over the world was and remains a priority of Polish foreign policy. It is the party's wish that all those who consider themselves Polish should cultivate their ties with Poland, extend their thoughts to it, and have the possibility of multiplying Poland's material and spiritual achievements. This purpose will be served by eliminating the artificial divisions between Polish people of culture in Poland and those abroad.

Contacts and Dialogue with the Forces of the Leftwing [subtitle]

The PZPR is a part of the international communist and workers movement, and of the European and world leftwing. A recognition of the supremacy of human values and objectives is creating a new dimension of cooperation with progressive parties in the West. New platforms for joint activity for the sake of disarmament, a defense of the fruits of human civilization, and a fair economic order are appearing. The transformations in the USSR, Poland, and many other socialist countries are of major political importance for communists and all leftwing forces in the West. They are restoring socialism's attractiveness and providing experience that is useful in drafting alternative democratic changes. At the same time, the long years of political activity by communists and other leftwing forces in the capitalist world within the framework of political pluralism and the bourgeois system of parliamentary democracy is a source of inspiration and creative searches for us.

The PZPR is revitalizing its contacts and conducting an energetic dialogue with social and social-democratic parties, including the Socialist International. The recent changes inside the leftwing forces of the world, involving an end to the monopoly over truth, an end to hegemonistic tendencies, and complete equality in mutual relations, are consolidating the international front of these forces and encouraging detente and disarmament. In no way is the presence of communist parties in this front, including the PZPR, erasing each party's identity and sovereignty.

This is illustrated by the relations between the PZPR and the Social Democratic Party of Germany. A special joint working group, formed of these two parties, has reached a preliminary stance in many important questions of European, especially East European, security and disarmament. The right conditions now exist to include in dialogue with socialist and social-democratic parties other important issues, such as humanitarian problems, economic cooperation, ecology, culture, and ideology. It may also be expedient to examine the experience of others, for example in the formation of ties between working people and the development of cooperatives and self-management bodies. For this purpose, we are expanding our contacts with these parties, including in Finland, Belgium, Spain, France, and Italy. We are also ready to establish contacts with alternative movements, especially ecological and peace movements.

At the same time as the increasing interdependence between the peoples and countries of the world, there is an increasing interdependence between various components of the leftwing. Assuming this to be so, the PZPR is in favor of creating an international forum of the leftwing. Such a forum, consisting of representatives of various leftwing streams, would be a platform of debates and discussions about the most important matters concerning the future of mankind, social progress, and socialism. A forum like this could convene regularly or occasionally, each time in a different country. We propose that Warsaw be the first location for this forum in 1990.

With Thoughts Toward the Future [subtitle]

The party is facing tasks of enormous importance. We have tried to explain their essence in detail throughout this report.

The elections to the Sejm and Senate will take place next month. We trust that this will be a successful lesson in democracy, patriotism, and civic responsibility for every Pole. We trust that the country's interests—Poland itself—will win these elections!

The 11th PZPR Congress lies in the future.

The Central Committee has received from primary party organizations and party committees numerous letters saying that the congress should be held sooner. Some circles of party intelligentsia are saying the same. They justify their calls for an earlier congress by the momentous changes in Poland and the need for the supreme party authorities to take a stance on them.

A congress is a major event in the life of the party. It elects the central party authorities, and adopts or amends the party program and statute. This calls for appropriate and careful preparations. Hastening these preparations is uncalled for, just as the postponement of important decisions is. An immediate 11th Congress would only be necessary if the Central Committee reached the conclusion that the party is in danger of a split. Here, it is worth adding that the results of a special opinion poll show that the overwhelming majority of the delegates at the National PZPR Conference support the decisions and political line of the 10th Plenum.

In conclusion, we suggest that the date for the 11th Congress not be brought forward. Let us leave it to the Central Committee to decide. At the right time, and in accordance with the situation, the Central Committee will decide whether the Congress should be brought forward, or whether its statutory date should be upheld.

The future shape of Poland is being determined. A time of historic breakthrough requires intellectual boldness and practical efficiency from working people. It requires the rejection of old ideas and stereotypes, and a confirmation of the fact that we are a party of modern thinking and creative action, in accordance with the ambitions of working people—a party of Polish, humanitarian, democratic, and effective socialism. [Signed] The PZPR Central Committee Politburo

Communist Party Seen as 'Vital Center' of Nation

AU1205151889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0826 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 11/5/1989—The system of Romanian democracy is built round the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], acknowledged by the entire nation as a leading force. This is due not only to the fact that the RCP made Romania one of the most dynamic society nowadays but also to the profound democratism of its leading style.

It is an axiom that the Communist Party could not have had the nucleus of a democratic system unless it itself had been a democratic organization. In this respect, RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu stressed at the CC [Central Committee] plenary meeting of March 1988: "We must develop still more the party's internal democracy, the debate of all problems of our societal life and of party activity within the party, considering this an inseparable part of revolutionary worker democracy, of the guaranteed participation of the whole nation in running all spheres of activity. There is an interdependence between the party democracy and the revolutionary worker democracy. They must go hand in hand with a view to enhancing revolutionary worker democracy without which we cannot build socialism and communism."

The democratization of the party's inner life has been a steady concern since the Ninth Congress in the summer of 1965 which ushered in a new stage in the party's life, in the whole revolutionary process, and paved the way for creative thinking and work, for the improvement of management and the building of the new system in Romania—socialism. Singling out from the aggregate of measures adopted after that congress is the sanctioning of the principle according to which the party bodies should previously debate in the party bodies the chief measures regarding political, economic and sociocultural activities.

Relating to this, the general secretary emphasized: "...We set as a rule the debate of the major questions concerning our party's home and foreign policy within the party. This is a vital demand for the party's internal democracy, for the growing might and fighting ability of our party."

Falling within the same context is the improvement of the system of electing the party bodies—the designation and discussion of candidates at lower levels for the immediately higher ones, the practice to make proposals for the election of the bureaus of basic organizations by the participants in the report meetings and to advance more nominees than the number of the ones to be elected, proportionally representating the organizations to the party's leading bodies.

A defining trait of the RCP's outlook on the way of exercising its leading mission is the principle of organic integration into societal life according to which it cannot play such a role from above the social organism to issue directives and dispositions but from within society, by intertwining its activity with statal and social work. The measures for the simultaneous fulfilment by party cadres of state functions, the setting up of party and state bodies alike (such as the Supreme Council of Economic and Social Development—a genuine economic parliament) and the institution of the cadre rotation principle have proved fully viable in this respect. Thoroughly analyzing the cadre rotation principle, the Thirteenth RCP Congress decided that, when party elections are held, at least one third of the leading bodies' composition should be renewed.

The continuous osmosis between party and society is facilitated by the fact that the Romanian Communist Party is a genuine mass party. Its membership stands at over 3.7 million being, from this point of view, the largest party known in Romania's political history. The party endeavoured and succeeded in keeping abreast with the changes wrought in the structure of society.

It has always been a workers' party (now, too, more than 70 percent of its members are workers and farmers). Maintaining and deepening this trait, the RCP became precisely therefrom a party of the whole people, because from a demographic point of view, workers hold the first standing in the total population and, owing to its conduct, they impart society as a whole a specific way of life in which the revolutionary spirit, the cult of work and civism [word as received] are decisive for every citizen. The Communists alive amidst the people, develop direct relations with the people, work in close unity with them, consult them over mutual problems, comply with their judicious proposals, stimulate their participation in debating and implementing the home and foreign policy, in substantiating decisions and carrying them into effect.

Relevant for the application of the principle of building socialism "with the people and for the people"—a fundamental principle in the RCP's entire activity—is the very style of work of its general secretary, his permanent dialogue with the people. Nicolae Ceausescu pays frequent working visits to all the country's counties, meeting with workers, farmers, experts and managerial staff in numerous economic, sociocultural, learning and scientific research units.

In the practice of the Romanian political life such multifarious form of dialogue with the masses—of a remarkable originality and social efficiency—were set as: The discussion with working people of the principal measures regarding economic and sociocultural activities, the laborious activity of general meetings and working people's councils, workers' control, the civic rallies "the rostrum of democracy," the organization of central or local meetings or conferences by various fields of activity, the public debate of various draft resolutions of the party or laws of the country, the exercise of the right of the mass and public organizations to legislative initiative, the presence of the representatives of those organizations in the collective management of state bodies, including ministries and the government.

And these are as many arguments which prove that the RCP views democratic management as a demand which lawfully derives from its inner structure, from the mission it assumed rather than as a conjunctural or peripheral imperative.

The Romanian Communist Party considers itself to be and is a party of the entire people, its vital centre whose force regenerates continually under the impact of the fascicles of energy come from among the nation which uninterruptedly go toward it.

President Bush Sends More Troops to Panama

AU1205141589 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] U.S. President George Bush announced the decision of the Washington administration to sent 2,000 additional troops to the Panama Canal zone, which is under North American control. The U.S. President justified this decision with the need to protect U.S. citizens in that area, given the tense situation created in the wake of the recent Panama elections.

However, political observers believe that the move is designed to put new pressure on the Republic of Panama, particularly in view of the fact that the chief of the U.S. executive branch announced the maintenance of economic sanctions against that country.

Greetings to Counterparts on CSSR National Day

AU1105101589 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 9 May 89 p 6

[Message from President Nicolae Ceausescu and Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu to Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee; Gustav Husak, CSSR president; and Ladislav Adamec, CSSR premier "On the National Holiday of Socialist Czechoslovakia"]

[Text] To Comrade Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee; Comrade Gustav Husak, CSSR president; and Comrade Ladislav Adamec, premier of the CSSR Government, Prague

Esteemed comrades: The 44th anniversary of the national holiday of the CSSR is a pleasant opportunity for us to extend, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], the State Council and Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Romanian people, and on our own behalf, warm comradely greetings and most cordial congratulations to the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ], the CSSR Government, and the friendly Czechoslovak people.

Czechoslovakia's liberation from fascist domination, an event of historical importance to which the Romanian Army made a significant contribution, opened the road to great economic and social changes in your homeland. In the period that has elapsed since the liberation, the Czechoslovak people, under CPCZ leadership, attained noteworthy achievements in all areas of socialist construction, which the Romanian people are following with feelings of appreciation.

Highly appreciating the constant development of relations of friendship and cooperation between the RCP and the CPCZ, between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the CSSR in the spirit of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance, we want to express the conviction that, by acting together to implement the decisions and understandings agreed upon at the summit level, Romanian-Czechoslovak cooperation will continue to expand for the benefit of our peoples and in the interest of the general cause of socialism, peace, and international cooperation.

Esteemed comrades, we wish you and the whole Czechoslovak people increasingly greater successes in implementing the decisions of the 17th CPCZ Congress and in building the developed socialist society in your homeland.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Giosan, Delegation Meet Malaysian Officials

AU1305190089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1654 GMT 13 May 89

[Text] Kuala Lumpur, AGERPRES, 13/5/1989—The Romanian parliamentary delegation headed by Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, now on an official visit to Malaysia at the invitation of that country's Parliament, met with Tan Sri Datuk Mohamed Zahir bin Haji Ismail, speaker of the House of Representatives, and with other executives of the Parliament.

On the occasion emphasis was placed on the upward course of the Romanian-Malaysian ties on the basis of the understandings and documents covenanted during the summit meetings. Stress was laid on both parties' wish to intensify and expand the relations, on economic plane especially. Emphasis was also placed on the important role of parliaments and parliamentarians in the two countries in strengthening the Romanian-Malaysian cooperation both bilaterally and internationally.

During their visit to Malaysia the Romanian parliamentary delegation had interviews with Ghafar Baba, deputy prime minister, with Datuk Abu Hassan Omar, minister of foreign affairs, with other political and economic personalities in that country.

Ceausescu Receives Departing Mongolian Envoy

AU1205184489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1755 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 12/5/1989—On Friday, 12 May, President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania received Togoochiyn Genden, ambassador of the Mongolian People's Republic in Bucharest, on ending his mission in Romania.

Salutes were exchanged on the occasion between Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic, and President Nicolae Ceausescu.

During the interview emphasis was placed on the fine friendly and cooperative ties established between Romania and Mongolia, and the wish was expressed that further steps be taken for their development, in the interest of both peoples and countries, of the cause of peace and understanding among nations.

The Mongolian ambassador warmly thanked President Nicolae Ceausescu, the State Council and the Romanian Government for the support he had been granted in fulfilling his mission in Romania.

Iron Gates Commission Holds Session in Bucharest

AU1305162289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1441 GMT 13 May 89

["Session of the Joint Romanian-Yugoslav Commission for the Iron Gates"—AGERPRES headlines]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 13/05/1989—The proceedings of the 41st session of the Joint Romanian-Yugoslav Commission for the Iron Gates were held in Bucharest over 11-13 May.

The joint commission recorded the good collaboration in the exploitation of the Iron Gates I and II systems as well as in the execution of the additional stations at the Iron Gates II system.

The joint commission adopted some measures conducive to the expansion of the collaboration in using the common hydropower potential of the Danube.

Proposals at Geneva Disarmament Talks Viewed

AU1205133889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1229 GMT 12 May 89

["Romania: Specific Proposals and Initiatives Founded on a Comprehensive Unitary Approach to Disarmament Issues"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 12/5/1989—Steadfast action was taken by the Romanian delegation to the Geneva Conference on Disarmament to promote the Romanian position, President Nicolae Ceausescu's initiatives on the cessation of the arms race, nuclear first of all, and the passage to disarmament, the elimination of the war threat and the ensurance of the foremost right of peoples and individuals to existence, to freedom and independence, to life and peace. Underscoring the importance and necessity of a comprehensive unitary approach to disarmament, the Romanian conception of a global disarmament programme was outlined with nuclear disarmament as its centrepiece complemented by measures for the elimination of chemical and other weapons of mass destruction along with conventional arms, troops and military budget cuts. Emphasis was placed on the idea that international peace and security cannot be ensured by isolated actions that put a ban only on some classes of nuclear or chemical weapons, or by the so-called nuclear deterrence or other strategies that further the arms race. Security, it was shown, can be achieved only by disarmament on all fronts, by simultaneously banning and eliminating nuclear, chemical and other weapons of mass destruction as part of a coherent process.

Romania came with proposals and initiatives on all disarmament issues, on the directions of action that the states should take to find solutions through sustained efforts on all levels—multilaterally and bilaterally as well as regionally—and in all negotiation fora among which the Geneva conference stands out by its role and responsibility. The Romanian delegation to the conference insisted that the foundation should be laid to an effective nuclear and chemical disarmament process—to be carried on simultaneously—that measures should be negotiated and adopted for the complete removal of nuclear, chemical and other weapons of mass destruction, for a ban on them and for the destruction of the existing stockpiles.

In the specific context of the Geneva conference, the Romanian delegation underlined that a comprehensive unitary approach also calls for measures to put the conditions in place for appropriate negotiating structures for an in-depth examination and negotiation of all major problems on the session's agenda, of the nuclear disarmament ones above all.

Many delegations, including Romania's, underscored the urgency of a thorough examination by the conference of the question of the manufacture of classes and systems of weapons of mass destruction set on new principles such as lasers, wave propagation, particle emission and others, for the identification of the ways and means of keeping this dangerous course in check.

SCINTEIA Marks Karl Marx 171st Anniversary

AU1005140689 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 5 May 89 p 5

[University Professor Dr Gh.Al. Cazan article on 171st anniversary of Karl Marx' birth: "Living and Creative Spirit of the Revolutionary Concept"]

[Excerpts] We are marking the 171st anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx, the brilliant revolutionary thinker, organizer and strategist of the struggle of the working class; and, together with Engels, the founder of the scientific concept about the world and society, of dialectical and historical materialism, and of the theory of scientific socialism and of the Marxist political economy, which were to have a profound influence on the people's historical awareness and the evolution of human society itself. [passage omitted]

Marx followed with sympathy and interest a series of processes and events in the history of the Romanians and, in his writings, he often made remarks and referred to the history of our people. Noting the Romanian people's Latin origin, Marx praised the Romanians' love of freedom, and their discontent with the oppression to which they had been submitted and, for example, he emphasized the fact that, unlike other territories in southeast europe, throughout the centuries, Moldavia and Wallachia maintained a largely independent status from the Ottoman Empire.

The writings of Marx and Engels have been translated and read in our country from the beginning. The penetration of Marx's work in the Romanian socialist literature speeded up the process of ideological clarification and political organization of the workers' movement. As a matter of fact, the party of the workers' class in Romania, created in 1893, was one of the first parties of the European proletariat organized on the basis of the revolutionary concept elaborated by Marx.

The socialist thinkers in our country made use of the spirit of Marx's concept in their analysis of the socioeconomic and political realities and inaugurated a valuable tradition of a creative approach to the fundamental truths of the revolutionary theory.

Our party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, consistently approached the fundamental principles of the revolutionary concept in the same living and creative spirit in which the founders of this concept based the workers' class theory of the world. In the concept of our party, particularly since the Ninth RCP Congress, this creative spirit has been the theoretical basis for developing the revolutionary theory and for building the socialist society. Highly appreciating the theoretical heritage of the classics of the Marxist concept, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said that "in our entire ideological activity and in the party instruction we should ensure the study of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy and the basic works of Marks, Engels, and Lenin, as well as other more recent theoretical works."

In his dialectical thinking—which is opposed to dogmatic and subjective ideas, to metaphysical negation and unhistorical relativism, and to all tendencies of underestimating the work of Marx under the pretext that it is "outdated" or "obsolete"—our party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, considers that, through its fundamental principles and its general methodology, Marx's work remains a permanent source for the development of the revolutionary thinking and remains a theoretical foundation of the construction of the socialist society and of the class struggle of the proletariat and of all the progressive forces throughout the world. The negation in any way of the everlasting fundamental principles of Marxism has been and continues to be a serious theoretical error, which mistakes the general principles for the historical way in which they have been used at a certain moment. In the ideological and political fields—as life has proved—such a position can have serious consequences and can diminish the force of Marxism, the attraction it exercises on people's awareness, and the possibility to develop it in an original and creative way. Some of Marx's ideas and hopes were indeed refuted by social-historical practice, some of them were outdated, and some were valid for his time. Marx himself often returned to some of his notes and, according to case, corrected some of them and developed others. "Marxism, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed in this respect, is a living science which is being developed and enriched constantly and comprises the historical experience and the conclusions of the historical development." The development of Marxism, as an essential requirement of our times and of the construction of the socialist society, primarily demands the profound mastering of Marx's work, the implementation and application of its fundamental principles, and the theoretical generalization required by new practices. [passage omitted]

Leaders' Public Appearances for 6-12 May

AU1405193389

[Editorial Report] Romanian media report the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during the 6-12 May period (source of each report given in parentheses):

Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu and his wife Elena Ceausescu started a working visit to Mehedinti County, arriving in Drobeta Turnu Severin on 11 May. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0754 GMT 11 May 89) and together with Political Executive Committee (PEC) members Emil Bobu, Ion Dinca, Gheorghe Oprea, and Romanian Communist Party (RCP) Secretary Silviu Curticeanu visited some economic units in that county. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1910 GMT 11 May

89). On 12 May Nicolae Ceausescu, Elena Ceausescu, Emil Bobu, and Silviu Curticeanu visited some enterprises in Drobeta Turnu Severin (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1517 GMT 12 May 89) and at the end of the visit to Mehedinti County Ceausescu addressed a mass rally in Drobeta Turnu Severin (Bucharest Domestic Romanian 0820 GMT 12 May 89). On the same day, 12 May, Ceausescu received departing Mongolian ambassador in Bucharest. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1755 GMT 12 May 89)

PEC Member Ion Dinca and PEC Candidate Member Ion Stoian attended a CSSR Embassy reception in Bucharest on 8 May. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1749 GMT 8 May 89)

Emil Bobu, PEC member; Lina Ciobanu, PEC member and deputy prime minister; Ion Coman, PEC member and RCP secretary; Miu Dobrescu, PEC member; Suzana Gadea, PEC candidate member; Manea Manescu, PEC member and vice president of the State Council; Vasile Milea, defense minister; Gheorghe Oprea, PEC member; Barbu Petrescu, RCP Central Committee member; Gheorghe Radulescu, PEC member and vice president of the State Council; and Ion Stoian, PEC candidate member attended wreath-laying ceremonies on Victory Day in Bucharest on 9 May. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1738 GMT 9 May 89)

Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu, received Majid Qasemi, governor of the Central Bank of Iran, in Bucharest on 11 May. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1636 GMT 11 May 89)

Stefan Andrei, PEC candidate member and deputy prime minister of Romania, received the governor of the Central Bank of Iran in Bucharest on 10 May. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1805 GMT 10 May 89)

Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, met with Thai officials in Bangkok on 8 May. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1753 GMT 8 May 89)

Defense Minister Vasile Milea arrived in Libya on 11 May. (Tripoli JANA Arabic 1126 GMT 11 May 89)

Ion Stoian, PEC candidate member and RCP Central Committee secretary, received DPRK party activists in Bucharest on 9 May. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1800 GMT 9 May 89)

Assembly Meets To Proclaim New State Presidency

Inaugural of Presidency Awaited

AU1505082489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] The SFRY Presidency is to be inaugurated in the SFRY Assembly. Here is a report by Olivija Rusovac:

[Rusovac] The joint session of both chambers is being attended by the highest representatives of the federation, republics, provinces, and Belgrade as well as sociopolitical organizations at the federal level and members of the diplomatic corps. The new and fourth State Presidency should be inaugurated here at any moment and then its members will be announced.

Janez Drnovsek, Borisav Jovic, Stipe Suvar, Nenad Bucin, Dragutin Zelenovic, and Riza Sapundziju will be at the head of the state for the next 5 years. The SFRY Presidency is so far incomplete, as you the listeners know already.

The president of the Presidency will be Janez Drnovsek, and Borisav Jovic will be the vice president.

Instead of representatives from Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia which have not yet chosen their members for the Presidency, these republics will be represented by the presidents of the republican presidencies.

In the next 5 years, representatives of the federal units will take turns as head of state according to the following envisaged order: After Janez Drnovsek, Borisav Jovic will be president of the Presidency, followed by Stipe Suvar, Nenad Bucin, and Dragutin Zelenovic. However, it remains to be seen whether this will be the case, because there could be some changes once a new constitution is adopted.

This is Olivija Rusovac reporting from the SFRY Assembly.

Assembly Proclaims New Presidency

AU1505091289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] The new SFRY Presidency which will hold the post of the collective head of state for the next 5 years, has been inaugurated in the SFRY Assembly and in the presence of federal, republican, and provincial officials, and the diplomatic corps. The members of this Presidency, which is not complete because elections have not ended in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia, are Dr Janez Drnovsek [Slovenia], Dr Borisav Jovic [Serbia], Dr Dragutin Zelenovic [Vojvodina], Riza Sapundziju [Kosovo], Dr Stipe Suvar [Croatia], and Nenad Bucin [Montenegro]. Until elections are completed in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia, the duties of Presidency member will be carried out by the presidents of the republican presidencies.

The new members of the Presidency signed a solemn declaration which was read out by Dusan Popovski, president of the Assembly. Popovski then thanked the former State Presidency for its cooperation and the efforts it made to be a cohesive factor in Yugoslavia. Addressing the new Presidency, Popovski said that it could count on the full support of the Assembly and the public in its endeavors to extricate our country from the difficult situation by way of radical reforms.

This joint session lasted only 15 minutes. The delegates will hold elections for assembly officials today, which will report on in later programs.

Candidates Fail To Get Majority

LD1505112189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1025 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, 15 May (TANJUG)—Neither of the two candidates put forward for president of the SFRY Assembly—Dr Radoljub Micic and Dr Slobodan Gligorijevic—obtained the necessary majority of delegates' votes in the Federal Chamber. In a secret ballot, 93 delegates voted for Dr Radoljub Micic, the first on the list of candidates, while 95 delegates voted for Dr Slobodan Gligorijevic. In all, 192 delegates voted, and 4 ballot papers were invalid.

The Federal Chamber has decided, in accordance with the code of regulations, to seek the opinion of the legislative legal commission on the further procedure for the election of the Assembly president.

Dizdarevic Addresses Delegation on Security Day

LD1305093189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1628 GMT 12 May 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 12 May (TANJUG)—During the past 45 years the security service has realized great achievements, but has also lost many victims: 2,500 members of this service lost their lives, said Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, on the occasion of 13 May, Security Day. On behalf of the country's Presidency and other federal organs, Dizdarevic today received a delegation of the Yugoslav security organs and services led by Petar Gracanin, federal secretary for internal affairs.

The reception was attended by Dr Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Stane Dolanc, vice president of the SFRY Presidency; Dusan Popovski, president of the SFRY Assembly; Aleksandar Mitrovic, vice president of the FEC, Colonel General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense; Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs; and Ljubisa Korac, general secretary of the SFRY Presidency.

On behalf of the delegation, Petar Gracanin stressed in a special speech for this occasion that the current socioeconomic and political-security situation requires from all the progressive forces of our society and the entire system of social self-protection, and within this framework from the organs and services of the Yugoslav security service, to deal with very complex and responsible tasks. We are aware, Gracanin stresssed, of our obligations and responsibilities and we therefore make maximum efforts in order to consolidate the action and functional unity of the security organs and services throughout the country. We strive together, and also each organ and service individually within its competence, to work more efficiently on the protection of the constitutional system, public property, the personal and material security of citizens, and the preservation of public law and order in the country.

All the members of the Yugoslav security organs and services are strongly determined to persevere in these and other priority tasks and to succeed in their realization, within the limits of their abilities, stressed Petar Gracanin, federal secretary for internal affairs.

Congratulating all the members of the security organs and services on their holiday Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, first recalled the day 45 years ago when the security service was founded in Drvar on the order of the Supreme Commander Josip Broz Tito—as a department for the protection of people—OZNA [expansion unknown]. [passage omitted]

"The security service, said Dizdarevic, shared on this course the fate of its country, the socialist, self-managing, nonaligned Yugoslavia; it shared the fate of our rises and our falls, our victories and great temptations. In this entire period and especially in some periods we lived through in these 45 years, it had to show exceptional strength and efficiency in its activity, it had to sustain great efforts in exceptionally difficult circumstances. Unfortunately, this is one of these moments when the security services must bear the burden of their responsibility in exceptionall complex and difficult circumstances in which the country's unity, its integrity, and constitutionally established social system are seriously jeopardized.

"After all, as you see, over the past few days the destroyers of Yugoslavia have been making a loud apearance on the scene—those who instead of unity and happiness offer disunity and separatism, instead of a system of true democracy for the working class and the people of Yugoslavia offer the destruction of the system as set out in the Constitution, offer instability and the insecurity of citizens, and offer insecurity to today's children and those of the future in Yugoslavia.

"Over the past few days there unfortunately have been many attacks on the security service and on members of the service. The Presidency has said what it has to say on this, as Comrade Gracanin said, in the Yugoslav Assembly and in the reporting of its stances on these phenomena. We know that these attacks provoked the justified revulsion and concern of members of the security service. They also are turning to us with a feeling provoked by these wholesale and unfounded attacks, which not only harm them, but also harm this country as a whole."

Addressing Petar Gracanin, Dizdarevic said that the organs of internal affairs and the security organs are not being, and will not be left to fend for themselves. They are part of the system. Their duty, responsibility, and position has been laid down in the Constitution and in law. They are guided by society and are subject to the social supervision of the assembly, the Council for the Protection of the Constitutional Order, and the executive organs. Moreover, support for the security organs exists, as well. The responsibility of all the organs of this country must exist so that they create the right conditions and support for the security organs in the carrying out of their responsibilities—support so that they may carry out their task of insuring the security of Yugoslavia, preserving its integrity, and keeping the peace for its citizens. This is not the duty of these organs alone. Working people and citizens of this country feel this to be their interest and their need and all the attempts to unjustifiably besmirch the security organs come to nothing in the face of the consciousness and the interest of all the citizens of this country.

The organs of internal affairs and the security organs are responsible for their work to the organs established by the Constitution and the law. This practice, which is already widespread, should be further developed; it is part of our democratic system, a prerequisite for the successful performance of the security organs and in the interest of these organs, Dizdarevic stressed.

We know, he added, that leaderships in the security organs insist on strict adherence to the Constitution and law and on strict respect for the application of legal means and the preservation of the rights of this country's citizens.

In this connection, I would like to say two things, Dizdarevic mentioned.

Those who care about the positive and successful development of the SFRY cannot allow all kinds of interpretations that threaten peaceful and secure life and disturb the organs in carrying out their duties in this respect. We cannot allow the preaching and advocating of lawlessness, abuses, crime, and activities that could lead to violence against the people of this country, to vandalism in the streets of our cities, and to terrorism. Are the messages from the events in Kosovo not sufficient? Should we allow one more such case to happen? Those who at this moment are creating an atmosphere in which the security organs cannot secure public law and order and the security of the citizens and the country should consider this.

Yugoslav Assembly Receives Mosevac Delegation

LD1405194489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1720 GMT 14 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, 14 May (TANJUG)—A delegation of 15 residents of the village of Mosevac have been received in the Yugoslav Assembly. The Mosevac residents submitted the request that Hasan Delic, who was arrested in Maglaj yesterday, be released from detention. They are also requesting that the responsibility be established of those who ordered the organs of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs to use force yesterday against this village's residents, and they are also demanding the resignation of the Republican Secretary for Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Muhamed Besic. It is expected that the village's delegation will be received in the Yugoslav Assembly by Petar Gracanin, federal secretary for internal affairs.

Delegation Meets Gracanin

LD1405215289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1951 GMT 14 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, 14 May (TANJUG)—The delegation of the inhabitants of the village of Mosevac this evening, some time after 2000, after talks with Federal Secretary for Internal Affairs Petar Gracanin, left the Yugoslav Assembly building. In their meeting with the federal secretary the Mosevac residents expressed their demands that Hasan Delic be released from detention, that the responsibility be established of those who yesterday ordered the organs of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs in Maglaj to use force against the inhabitants of this village and that Muhamed Besic, republican secretary for internal affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina, resign.

In the talks with Petar Gracanin the Mosevac residents were promised that the federal organs would do everything in their power to finally resolve—after 4 years—the "case" of this village.

Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Holds Session

Ramajli Introductory Speech

LD1305101989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1404 GMT 12 May 89

[Excerpts] Pristina, 12 May (TANJUG)—[TANJUG part 1 not received] In respect to this, Iljaz Ramajli, member of the Presidium of the Kosovo League of Communists [LC] Provincial Committee, stressed in the introductory speech that election activity in party organizations and bodies in Kosovo must focus on a critical analysis and assessment of the political and security situation, on speedier removal of causes and consequences of all forms of counterrevolutionary and hostile activity of Albanian nationalism and separatism. We must remove, Ramajli stressed, all the causes which brought about the introduction of the special measures in Kosov, and we must conclude the struggle against counterrevolutionary forces and hostile activity of all nationalisms. We must break away from the opportunistic policy which has been pursued for many years.

The Kosovo LC, he noted, has the obligation and task to advocate consistent implementation of and to explain the amendments to the Constitution of the socialist Republic of Serbia. Ramajli expressed his conviction that changes open up broad oportunities for achieving in a democratic way unity, equality, and togetherness of all nations and nationalities, oportunities for political, economic, educational, cultural, and self-managing integration in the socialist Republic of Serbia. This is a historical responsibility of members and bodies of the Kosovo LC, Ramajli underscored.

Ramajli said that positive processes on changing the situation in Kosovo have begun recently. The LC has begun to be active in party ranks and that intranational trust is coming back, as well as unity and togetherness. The whole country has become preoccupied with Kosovo, and we have started to reoslve problems jointly.

The Kosovo LC has embarked on a deeper ideological differentiation and on establishing political responsibility regarding the situation, Ramajli assessed and added that ideopolitical measures have been taken against 1,600 LC members since January. He pointed out that creative cadres with ideological orientations must be elected to LC posts, and that those who are in any way in conflict with LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] policy, law, and moral norms cannot serve on those posts.

Only two members of the provincial committee took part in a discussion on tasks for the forthcoming elections and preparations for the 15th Conference of the Kosovo LC. [passage omitted]

Dusan Celic submitted a proposal that the forthcoming conference of the Kosovo LC should be extraordinary, because, as he put it, if we agree that Kosovo is the main cause of the Yugoslav crisis, then there is no reason why the conference should not be extraordinary.

Commenting on this proposal, Rahman Morina, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, said that the Presidium of the Provincial Committee has discussed this and that there are many reasons why the conference should be extraordinary. However, Morina added, it should have been held under that name in November last year, after the LCY Central Committee had issued a warning to the Provincial Committee. As is known, an extraordinary conference was not held, and now we have many obligations and tasks regarding political activity on stabilizing the situation, Morina said. [passage omitted]

Two Released, One Resigns

LD1205162389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1408 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Pristina, 12 May (TANJUG)—The Kosovo LC [League of Communists] Provincial Committee ended its session today by adopting the report of a working group whose task was to consider and establish the responsibility of three members of this party body.

Almost without discussion, Sahe Salja and Vehbi Feka were released from membership of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee because of their unprincipled statements at sessions of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee and other party bodies and forums. The working group believes that there are no elements for establishing the responsibility of Hasan Berisa. However, he announced that he will tender his resignation at the next session.

Members of the Provincial Committee today adopted decisions about elections in the LC and preparations for the 15th Conference of the Kosovo LC.

Presidium Elects New Members

LD1205161689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1438 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Pristina, 12 May (TANJUG)—The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee today elected three new members of its Presidium. They are Dobrosav Radovic, Sakir Maksut, and Gani Jasari.

Since they were not previously members of the Provincial Committee, they were first elected by secret ballot as members of the Provincial Committee and afterwards as members of the Presidium.

Renewal of the provincial party leadership is thus completed.

Serbian LC Committee Approves Candidates

LD1205113589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0919 GMT 12 May 89

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 12 May (TANJUG)—At an expanded session chaired today by Slobodan Milosevic, the Presidium of the Serbian League of Communists [LC] Central Committee [CC] unanimously confirmed the proposal for Boghdan Trifunovic, president of the Serbian Socialist Alliance of Working People republican conference and member of the Serbian LC CC Presidium, to be a candidate for the president of the Serbian LC CC Presidium and for Milomir Minic, member of the Serbian LC CC Presidium, to be a candidate for secretary of the Presidium. [passage omitted]

Internal Affairs on SFRY Security Situation

LD1405221589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1851 GMT 14 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, May 14 (TANJUG)—Deepening social and economic crisis, falling standards of living and aggravation of the Kosovo crisis are at the root of the deteriorating security situation throughout the country, says a report drawn up by the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs.

The number of criminal offences committed last year [word indistinct] dropped, however, by 2.3 percent as against the previous year. The biggest drop (12 percent) was recorded in the number of criminal offences against public property the number of offences against law and order also fell, except in Montenegro and Kosovo, where it rose by 11.5 and 8.54 percent, respectively.

As against this, the cases of arms and narcotics trafficking and of circulating forged hard currency have become more numerous. Thus, 1,019 different weapons were seized in the attempt of being smuggled last year, which is 77 percent more than in 1987.

The Interior Secretariat's report further says that open and violent attacks on Yugoslavia's integrity and constitutional order were carried out last year. Since Kosovo is a chink in the armour of the security of the entire country, last year's escalation of Albanian separatism necessitated the sending to the province within the Republic of Serbia of 1,700 police and 84 experts of the Federal Security Service, the report says.

The report further stresses that Yugoslavia is becoming increasingly interesting to foreign intelligence services, so that last year, criminal charges were brought against two persons and misdemeanor charges against 65 persons for intelligence work, and 52 foreigners were expelled from Yugoslavia for such activity.

Yugoslav internal affairs organs and customs officials last year seized 500 kilograms of narcotics, 152 kg of which was heroin, or two times more than in 1987.

The report further says that authorities impounded forged foreign currency to the equivalent of 0,000 dollars [figure as received], but the actual sum in circulation is believed to be much greater, due to a wide network of private individuals engaging in hard currency transactions and the keeping of hard currency in caches at home.

Morina Interviewed on Kosovo 'Conclusions'

LD1405133589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0153 GMT 14 May 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 14 May (TANJUG)—The upcoming session of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee on Kosovo should first of all give a new strong impetus to the realization of the LCY policy for the stabilization of the situation in the province. There is no need to pass any new positions or conclusions on Kosovo, stressed Rahman Morina, president of the Kosovo League of Communists [LC] Provincial Committee [PC] Presidium, in an interview to editors and journalists of TANJUG on the eve of the plenary session of the LCY Central Committee which will discuss Kosovo on Wednesday, 17 May.

Having noted that there are already a great deal of conclusions of Kosovo Morina stressed that the problem lies in a failure to realize them. For this reason the Central Committee should now propose additional guidelines for their consistent realization, especially because meanwhile there has been a fresh and brutal escalation of Albanian nationalism and separatism and also an open attack on LCY policy, the social system, and the integrity of Yugoslavia. It is logical to expect that the plenum should call for a speedier realization of the policy on Kosovo because hesitation over a long period of time has led to the exacerbation of the situation in the province.

Kosovo, stressed Morina, can and must defend itself from nationalism only through the joint political strength and will of all progressive and Yugoslav-oriented citizens of our country. In this respect the Kosovo LC needs at this moment concrete, clear and uniform support. The LCY Central Committee should reaffirm this support, especially when taking into account a new course which has been initiated by the PC and its Presidium. I believe that there should be no dilemmas about this because the present leadership itself has embarked upon long-awaited score-settling with the exponents of wrong political work and everything which hindered the realization of the LCY policy on Kosovo. It resolutely confronted the right causes and problems of the ever worsening situation in the province.

Having noted that help to Kosovo failed to come from some parts of the LC and that it is still not living up to expectations Morina said that this help was not yet coming from some republican organizations. On the contrary, there are still reservations toward the measures applied and being applied in Kosovo. The help which the LC leaderships, organs and organizations should give us could be more diverse ranging from visits by their representatives, to advice, opinions, and suggestions to municipal committees and basic LC organizations. However, said Morina, the most valuable help we can get is that expressed through right and kind words. Some parts of the LC find it very difficult to use kind words, or they use them incorrectly. More than ever before we in Kosovo need unity, uniform views to problems, the presence of communists from the whole of Yugoslavia here, so that united we can conduct an honest and sincere struggle for the lives of all people of Kosovo, pulling them out of the claws of the enemy and explaining to them that what we have had is a wrong policy which divided and estranged people and which led to mutual conflicts which could have turned into a civil war. This policy had to collapse sooner or later. But it also left us with serious consequences and turned us backward. We now have the very difficult task of correcting mistakes, getting rid of those who comitted them, and, of course, establishing responsibility, said Morina.

When asked how successful this operation has been and whether there has been any resistance, the president of the Kosovo LC PC Presidium first stressed that the former party leadership tried to set the present operation against the people but without success. We have launched an action, added Morina, to clean up all of Kosovo and get rid of the black sheep; we will succeed. We are optimistic, courageous and determined; there is no turning back. An enormous number of Communists and the majority of people of all ethnic groups are on our side.

The next question was: If this is so, why are the Albanians keeping quiet?

This thing about the Albanians keeping quiet is not completely true, said Morina. There are a lot who are silent but it cannot be said that all Albanians keep silent. Our research shows that an increasing number of people are beginning to open up, to join our struggle, though there are many of those who are caught between bureaucratic and nationalist forces, frightened or caught in this web in some other way. We must free those, win them over, and include them in our actions while at the same time settling scores with all those who have sunk deep down in nationalism, opportunism or hypocrisy. There are already some initial results in this, though we are not satisfied with the course of differentiation, said Morina. [passage omitted]

Dwelling on the period which preceded the dramatic events caused by Albanian nationalists and separatists teaming up with the political bureaucracy, Rahman Morina first of all recalled the fact that separatism in Kosovo had a long history and that the class enemy and other nationalist forces had not been completely defeated during the war. These forces have reproduced throughout the entire postwar period to a greater or lesser extent. Their aim has always been the same—to create a "Kosovo Republic" and through this to achieve the secession of Kosovo and its annex to Albania, i.e. to create a so-called "Greater Albania". This movement has always been active and always reproduced itself with greater or lesser success, depending on how much room it had to maneuver.

The answer to why this is so should be sought at the next session of the LCY Central Committee. The question why the LCY did not build a barrier against the breakthrough of nationalism and the expansion of separatist ideas should be answered. Why, for instance, do those who were 10-year-old children in 1981 now appear with guns under their arms targeted against their own country, their own people, and their own freedom?

These are certainly complex questions but the essence is, thinks Morina, the fact that the reproduction and exposure of the enemy cannot be surpressed by repressive measures alone, but first of all by political work with the young and correct education and orientation both in schools and in homes.

It is high time, stressed Morina, to stop solving this problem by arresting and punishing people, thus multiplying the number of the country's enemies, while the indoctrination from positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism continues unhindered and their instigators plot new tricks behind people's backs.

Time will tell who has been involved in this circle as well as in the latest events. The fact is, however, that the security organs informed political and other competent organs about the preparations and on what was going to be a "red signal" for action. Unfortunately, none of the forums took it very seriously and no action was taken to rally communists and prevent a possible escalation. A feeling was lost for political activity and commitment, wrong steps were taken, personal positions were defended and the masses were even rallied to defend these positions. Why, for instance, wondered Morina, was the most important stand of the LCY Central Committee not realized—on the responsibility of the Kosovo LC PC and its Presidium when the measure of warning was pronounced. Why did we have to wait for months for the real qualifications and assessment of the November mass protests and demonstrations of Albanian citizens?

The then leading people and organs bear substantial responsibility both for the method of conducting the public discussion on changes to the Serbian Constitution and for incorrect explanations of the essence of these changes. It was allowed that the Albanians get the impression that they would lose their language, autonomy, schools.... Had the essence of these changes been explained on time and in the right way I am certain, said Morina, that such large-scale protests and demonstrations and all the events over the recent months would have been prevented.

Commenting on the thesis that the constitutional changes in Serbia were allegedly imposed on Kosovo, Rahman Morina said that it had been concocted in the nationalist kitchen. These changes were necessary for the functioning of the republic as a uniform state and were supported by the Albanian nationality, he assessed. [passage omitted]

Commenting on the question about the number arrested, detained or isolated Rahman Morina stated that there have been too many speculations in this respect. The security organs are doing their job and they should be trusted.

When asked why the Kosovo LC conference has been convened as a regular one during an emergency situation in Kosovo Morina said:

We have thought about that. We believe that an extraordinary conference should have been held earlier, at the time of the blockade and complete polarization in the PC and the Kosovo LC as a whole. Now when unity is being built and problems overcome it almost makes no difference as to whether the conference will be called extraordinary or regular. [passage omitted]

For this reason the manifestation of unity of views on Kosovo during the next session of the Central Committee will be yet another impetus and encouragement in our attempts and desires to develop the broadest possible political action, broaden the horizons and create conditions for everyone in the province to live in harmony, said Rahman Morina, president of the Kosovo LC PC Presidium, in his interview to TANJUG editors.

Slovene Letter on Kosovo 'Repression' Published

AU1205194589 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 6 May 89 p 7

[Slobodan Zikic report: "Slovene 'Alliances' and 'Committees' Accuse the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 5 May—Several Slovene alliances and committees today published a statement in the Slovene media in which they express their "condolences and regret for the numerous victims of the fratricidal repression in Kosovo." These expressions of sympathy are also an indictment of official Yugoslav politicians who, in the opinion of the signatories, have committed a criminal offense against brotherhood and unity. A similar letter, in which Kosovo is called a military-police testing ground and Serbia is accused of annexing Kosovo, recently arrived at our office in Ljubljana. It was neatly signed by Rudi Seligo, president of the Slovene Writers Association, and Dane Zajc, president of the Commission for the Protection of the Freedom of Thought and Writing, and was stamped by the Slovene Writers Association.

In this unique "indictment" of official Yugoslav politicians which was signed by Vera Vazaz, on behalf of the Working Group for the Peace Movement within the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Slovenia, Marko Hren, on behalf of the Section for Peace Culture within the Student Cultural Center, Igor Bavcar, on behalf of the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights, Petar Bozic and Jasa J. Zlobec, on behalf of the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights in Kosovo, Dimitrije Rupel, on behalf of the Slovene Democratic Alliance, Katja Boh, on behalf of the Social Democratic Alliance of Slovenia, Ivan Oman, on behalf of the Slovene Peasant Alliance, and Spomenka Hribar, on behalf of the Maribor University Conference of the Slovene Socialist Youth Federation (the Ljubljana University Conference of the Slovene Socialist Youth Federation was also a signatory), it is written first of all that the signatories have the moral and civil right and duty to "mourn and make accusations regarding all the victims of the fratricidal political repression in Kosovo." It then says:

On the "Appeal" by Albanian Intellectuals

"Official Yugoslav federal policy has not recognized the right of the Albanian people to freely decide on their own constitution," and adds: "Therefore Yugoslav policy has committed the greatest evil and criminal offense against brotherhood and unity among the people and peoples who live in Yugoslavia, which is the same as destroying the foundations of the state structure.

The signatories then "express their regret for the numerous victims of such behavior and condolences to all those who were affected by it."

"We also condemn a policy which is to blame for the victims, and we demand that the Constitutional Court initiate proceedings against the culprits. We also suggest that an international commission be set up to investigate the background of the repressive activities and all these activities in Kosovo."

What sort of background to the repression in Kosovo can be discerned from the letter that arrived in our office from the Slovene Writers Association? Dane Zajc, president of the Commission for the Protection of Writing and Thought, and Rudi Seligo, president of the Slovene Writers Association, believe above all that the appeal by 215 Albanian intellectuals is not a pamphlet and that it is not hostile, as assessed by the Communal Committee of the League of Communists of Pristina but that, on the contrary, the Albanian intellectuals "are too humbly and with insufficient decisiveness demanding for their own people what belongs to them." If they are already demanding only what belongs to them—only a constitution which allows at least the free will of those for whom it is signed—the two writers ask on behalf of their associations: Why then was it necessary to kill children?

If Kosovo is nowadays a military-police testing ground where sinister forces test their strength in preparation for a time when Yugoslav territory will be under their control—say the two writers on behalf of their organizations—then all those Slovene intellectuals who rejected the adoption of the constitutional changes cannot expect a better fate than that which is planned for the Kosovo intellectuals.

They Are Surprised by the Serbian Calls for Pluralism

They add that the replacement of Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Kosovo Writers Association, was sought by the "military-party-police association which rules Kosovo," that this is a Stalinist method, and that they are surprised by "Serbian calls for pluralism" and by the demands of the Serbian Committee for the Freedom of Thought and Expression, according to which all citizens should be allowed the right to political association and peaceful assembly without prior applications or permits.

After these public statements by the Slovene associations, committees, and alliances in which Serbia is accused of annexing Kosovo, and the official and highest state and party institutions in Yugoslavia are accused of criminal acts and fratricidal repression and are proclaimed "sinister forces," it is no surprise that Slovene public opinion is taking the side of the aforementioned Albanian intellectuals; that leaflets are appearing containing demands for the withdrawal from Kosovo of military reservists and members of the security service from Slovenia; that the demand, or appeal, from 215 Albanian intellectuals is supported by other Slovene intellectuals; that, for example, the well-known "Debate Club 89" warns that "unprecedented acts of violence" in Kosovo and other events could lead to "military incidents with neighboring Albania," which could be used for "the military pacification of the entire Yugoslav federation and particularly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and the Socialist Republic of Croatia, and of course, for the introduction of a state of war." This "debate club" even believes that "the legitimacy of the administrative and other actions of the Yugoslav state is questionable."

Separatists' 'Misinformation' on Vaccinations

LD1205175889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1543 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Pristina, May 12 (TANJUG)—At a time when schoolchildren throughout Yugoslavia and in the Province of Kosovo are undergoing their regular innoculation against children's diseases, ethnic Albanian chauvinists and nationalists have spread a deplorable lie that the vaccines contain an agent intended to sterilize ethnic Albanian children, a statement issued after a meeting of the Kosovo government said.

Although it was assessed that the situation in Kosovo schools following the launching of the misinformation was gradually returning to to normal, the provincial government appealed to all parents and teachers not to allow children's lives to be abused by forces of destruction.

In order for the healths of children not to be endangered because they failed to undergo their compulsory innoculation against infantile paralysis, diptheria, tetanus and tuberculosis, what is necessary is an intensive activity of competent organs and institutions, expert medical teams and teachers, the Kosovo Government said.

The statement noted that organized innoculation of pupils against children's diseases had been carried out in primary schools in the province for decades.

All children must be innoculated from the moment when they are three days old until they reach the age of 19. A vaccination notice is sent to parents of pre-school-age children, and for those attending schools innoculation is organized at the schools themselves.

Thanks to regular innoculation drives, children's diseases such as poliomyelitis, tetanus, diptheria and tuberculosis have been virtually eradicated in Yugoslavia.

The Kosovo Government assessed that the misinformation on "sterilization" [words indistinct] deliberately launched by ethnic Albanian nationalists and separatists in an effort to deal a new blow to the stability of the political-security situation in the province.

After nationalism escalated in violent demonstrations in the province last March, which had some characteristics of an armed uprising, ethnic Albanian nationalists have now reverted to methods of special warfare—spreading falsehoods, carrying out acts of sabotage and diversions.

It is a fact that the birth rate of Yugoslavia's ethnic Albanian population is the highest not only in the country but in Europe as a whole. (?Annual) population growth in the province has on occasions been as high as three percent. Last year it recorded 2.4 percent.

The enormous birth rate has its roots in tradition and history.

Under preparation in Kosovo is a resolution on birth planning which will favour a three-child family.

Albanians Demonstrate at Consulate in Zurich

LD1305201489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1700 GMT 13 May 89

[Text] Geneva, May 12 (TANJUG)—About one thousand Albanians demonstrated in Zurich Saturday in support of the Albanian chauvinists and separatists in the Yugoslav Kosovo province.

The demonstrators headed from the Helvetia Plaz Square towards the Yugoslav Consulate shouting the (?slogans), distributing pamphlets and carrying banners saying "Kosovo Republic," "Out with special Army and police units," and "End the terror in Kosovo."

Kosovo, a province within the largest Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, has for the past nine years been under the constant terror of the Albanian chauvinist separatist movement, forcing some 40,000 Serbs and Montenegrins to fleet to other parts of the country.

Special measures were imposed in the province following on mass demonstrations in November, January and February and an armed revolt in March claimed 24 victims.

The supporters of the movement for a republic, the session of Kosovo from Yugoslavia and annexation to neighbouring Albania, have recently tried to internationalize the Kosovo issue.

Today's anti-Yugoslav demonstrations, organized by the so-called People's Movement for the Kosovo Republic, called for "international solidarity with the Kosovo Albanians."

These are the third anti-Yugoslav Albanian demonstrations in Zurich since the beginning of the year.

New Serbo-Croat Newspaper Published in Pristina

LD1205223289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0958 GMT 12 May 89

[Summary] Pristina, 12 May (TANJUG)—A ceremony was held today in the Jedinstvo newspaper publishing house to mark the appearance of the first issue of URANAK, a Serbo-Croatian language newspaper for farmers in Kosovo. Aco Colic, the chief editor of URANAK, said at the ceremony that one of the functions of the paper is to halt the emigration of Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks, Muslims, and Croats from the province.

Slovene President, Editor View Internal Problems

LD1205223189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0823 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 12 May (TANJUG)—The moves by the Slovene Presidency in connection with the trial of the four in Ljubljana, meetings, Slovene sovereignty, the relationship between official policy and alernative policies, the Serbian-Slovene dispute, and other current topics were the subject of last night's 1-hour conversation between Janez Stanovnik, president of the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia, and Stane Grah, the chief editor of Ljubljana Television.

Stanovnik, among other things, stressed that the claim that the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia passively accepted the trial of the four and their sentencing is unjustified. During the trial and after it, the Presidency drew attention to the use of languages and advocated the use of civil lawyers and professional staff always within the framework of constitutionality and legality, Stanovnik said. He also added that, in his view, the Federal Presidency has erroneously interpreted its competent authority, especially in connection with the use of languages. Stanovnik believes that the causes of the failure in the military trial are primarily the consequence of a differing interpretation of constitutionality.

Turning to the meeting in Congress Square, in Ljubljana, Janez Stanovnik said that the meeting was democratic and that this is an important instrument of democracy. Allegations that the banning of the meeeting was the beginning of the extraordinary measures, in Stanovnik's view, is an exaggeration. It is easy for one university professor to say at the meeting that someone should be released from prison but it is a quite different matter if you are the one of whom this is requested, Stanovnik added. This means destroying public order. All legal possibilities should be exploited, the president of the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia stressed.

There should be no doubt about "the Slovene Spring", Stanovnik assessed. However, there are differing views on sovereignty and these should be campaigned for every day because it is not something which would be once and for all. In the conversation Stanovnik also said that there is completely unjustified manipulation with so-called "healthy forces". After the congress, he went on, unbelievably great unity was achieved on the Slovene democratic scene. What is being aspired toward is not some abstract fog but the individual socialism to suit the individual, in other words people, while socialism is the order of democracy.

As for the discrepancy between official policy and alternative policy, Stanovnik believes that it is normal in a plural society for people to have differing views on things. We should get accustomed to the idea, he believes, so that we know in democracy how to live with those who think differently.

Yugoslavia is our common homeland. This is the stance of the president of the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia, which he expressed when he took on this post, and this is his view today as well. At the same time this is also a reply to the question of what he thinks about the possibility of Slovenia's secession.

Speaking about the dispute between Serbia and Slovenia, Stanovnik said there is a contrast between very different concepts but there is no geopolitical reason for such a dispute.

At the end of the conversation Janez Stanovnik also referred to a document entitled "Igor Bavcar—My Conversations".

I am truly surprised by the step taken by the person who leads the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights, Igor Bavcar, who handed over this document to the head of Ljubljana's police, although we had agreed that we would not write about our private conversations, Janez Stanovnik said. According to him this is an attack on the integrity of the individual.

Bavcar Committee Protests Jansa Imprisonment

AU1305204889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 13 May 89

[Text] The Janez Jansa case that has been a cause of protest meetings all over Slovenia has been again dramatized this week. Bavcar's Human Rights Protection Committee has exploited the occasion of Jansa being taken from a Ljubljana clinic where we was undergoing treatment for injuries to his fingers, to the Penal Correction Institution at Dob, Dolenjska, for informing the international public. Relja Atanasijevic reports:

[Atanasijevic] Shortly before noon today, Janez Jansa was taken by Interior Affairs organs from one of the Ljubljana clinics, where he was temporarily undergoing treatment, back to the penal correction institution. Irena Keber, Jansa's physician, stated that the patient was taken away prematurely. Therefore she did not want to sign the discharge, she informed the Republican Secretariat for the Judiciary.

With the approval of the authorities granted despite of this, the convict was taken to Dob. Jansa's wife visited her husband at the penal correction institution and then informed the Ljubljana Human Rights Protection Committee that the prison doctor initially refused to assume the care for Jansa but finally agreed to do so.

This is the essence of the events today that were directly connected with Janez Jansa. Bavcar's committee dramatized the whole affair and made it international. In its Release No 93, the committee pointed out that today's conduct by the Slovene authorities exceeds all boundaries and asked the question: Where has anybody seen a state in which patients are taken to prison despite doctors' protests?

The committee has failed to state to what extent the patient was actually ill.

Having established contacts with a number of various organizations and institutions in the West in the past year, Bavcar's committee urgently informed the international public and international human rights organizations about the Jansa case today, requesting their support. The committee statement says that organizations from Austria, France, and England have decided to send a group of legal experts and judges next week so that they may request that the Slovene authorities to furnish an explanation of the treatment of Janez Jansa.

Bavcar's committee certainly wants very much to extend the Jansa case as much as possible, as a drama in installments, and thus to denigrate both Yugoslavia and the authorities in Slovenia.

Youth Federation's Skolc on Protest Meetings

AU1305194089 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 9 May 89 p 3

[Jelena Gacesa, Marko Pacauer, Vesna Trikovic, Vasja Venturini, and Darja Verbic report: "Demands for a Retrial and Reprieve of the Four"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 8 May—After the agenda was proposed (the points were: opening and greetings, summing up of activities of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Youth Federation of Slovenia in connection with the Ljubljana trial, and further activities in this connection), Joze Skolc, president of the Socialist Youth Federation of Slovenia [SYFS] Republican Conference opened the public and expanded session of the Presidium of the SYFS Republican Conference today.

He said at the beginning that a protest meeting should have been held at the same place at the same time, at which citizens of Slovenia should have expressed their disagreement and indignation at the unheard-of ignorance and disdain with which the highest state and juridical organs overlooked all the arguments, evidence, complaints, and requests in connection with the political juridical scandal that is called the Ljubljana Trial, the trial of the four [Jansa, Tasic, Zavrl, and Borstner]. Because the meeting was banned, the SYFS convened an expanded public session of its Presidium....

"In this way we do not express our civil disobedience, but on the contrary, our civil obedience," Skolc stressed. "We obey our principle and duty to ensure basic civil rights to the people; we obey the constitutional right to the freedom of thought and of gatherings, and finally we also obey Voltair's dictum, 'Even if I do not agree with you in everything, I will do my best, even give my life, so that you may freely say what you think.' This is not an empty slogan for us, we take these words seriously."

Joze Skolc then said that young people will not allow their spring to end; nobody, either in Slovenia or outside it, has the right to willfully determine the rights of the young people. He stressed that they will not give in to provocation and pressure and will not allow their elementary civilizational achievements, gained with much effort, to be taken away from them, and that—regardless of what the trial of the four signifies, what its background is, and what is involved in this political game—the first demand is that one should get to the bottom of the matter and that the fate of the convicted four should be resolved.

Roman Lavtar, member of the SYFS Presidium, further examined the most important activities of the SYFS Republican Conference Presidium concerning the Ljubljana trial: from the beginning when they did everything that they had to do, through the incessant demands that the execution of the sentence be postponed, and up to the explanation of all the circumstances and the course of the trial. The youth organization was involved in all these events, one of the reasons being that Janez Jansa was at that time one of the candidates for youth president. It argued all the time that for the youth organization, the Ljubljana trial was the greatest travesty of justice since the war, for the young generations have watched it and followed it. The youths have prepared a number of proposals to change legislation, they were the first to suggest the formation of an assembly commission to control the work of the State Security Service, and they demanded that the discussion be transferred to the highest institution of authority, the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia.

Sticking One's Head Into the Sand in Face of Illegal Acts

Igor Bavcar said that Janez' arrest to serve the sentence and the announced executions of the sentences of the other three show that the Slovene juridical authorities ignore obvious violations of the law, and some representatives of the authorities and of politics publicly argue in favor of their ignorance.

He thought that the organs of authority and some representatives of the Slovene authorities have not carried out the tasks they they set themselves. He drew attention to the great consensus in the public regarding the protection of human rights (e.g. a gathering in Toronto).

France Tomsic summed up the events since the war and presented a historical sketch of democracy in Yugoslavia. Democracy now means one thing for Kucan, another for Milosevic, and a third for Ceausescu. He wondered what was left of the federation in the SFRY. In his opinion, very little. In his opinion we do not want a federation like the one Yugoslavia has degenerated into. The Slovene people now do not decide on the use of the gun, or of the stick, or of the cash box. He pictured the first as the departure of Slovene reservists to Kosovo, the second as the departure of Slovene militiamen there, and the third as the federal decision on how much money Slovenia will have to fork out. This was the real state of Slovene sovereignty. The Social Democratic Alliance sees the solution in a new constitution, which must be written to suit the Slovene people.

Dimitrij Rupel said that instead of confronting centralism and the Yugoslav centralistic spirit, the Slovene political authorities are afraid and are careful not to run foul of their own citizens. The Slovene politicians cannot decide whether they should yield to pressure or struggle for the sovereignty of their own people. The resistance of people who use their own brains cannot be the same as a meeting that sends people to prison [allusion to 28 February meeting in Belgrade]. It is not true that the Slovene alternative is snapping at the heels of the Slovene politicians, but regarding the "four," it has the impression that these politicians do not defend the Slovene cause. Pluralism and democracy are present here and now, and the authorities would show that they take Slovene sovereignty in earnest if they released Janez Jansa from prison at once.

Franc Miklavcic spoke on behalf of the Slovene Christian Socialist Movement. He said that injustices have happened, continue to happen, and will happen in the future. In the case of the four, they are sacrificial lambs on the altar of militarism and the Army. If we do not stop this, we will be in the same position as we were in years ago. He then quoted Edvard Kocbek, who asked in a letter written on 28 July 1978, shortly before his death: "Where is the marriage feast that will forever link free people?" Years ago, Franc Popit and Mitja Ribicic were in leading positions, but they worked as extended arms of the state and the party. Now Milan Kucan and Joze Smole are in equivalent positions. They have a wider cultural horizon, but they are an example to our citizens as regards civil obedience. Nothing has changed in 10 years. The more things change, the more they are the same. A young partisan asked his political commissar in 1942 whether Slovenia will perhaps be a Russian province. The commissar assured him that it will be an independent republic. Miklavcic said the young man was right, except that we are not a Russian province but a Yugoslav one. He also mentioned the first post-war political prisoners who included priests and monks imprisoned for no cause.

Viktor Blazic said that leaden times are returning. Whether the authorities pretend to be of one kind or another, the political prisoners and the public have learned their nature. These authorities have done nothing to repair the injustices inflicted. He himself wrote a letter to Milan Kucan last year asking for a revision of all political trials, but he never received even an acknowledgement. Instead of apologies, so that something like it may never happen again, we hear appeals to a law-governed state. The Human Rights Protection Committee was supported by thousands of signatories and work organizations, which is evidence of the people having awoken, and this can not be undone.

Vladimir Seks, who spoke on behalf of the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights in Kosovo and the International Helsinki Declaration on Human Rights, first asked the gathering if he could speak in Croatian, and received a round of appreciative applause. He stressed that such a permission should also have been asked for by the military court which did not conduct its proceedings in Slovene and thus hurt the feelings of the Slovene people. A large part of the democratic Yugoslav public feels affected by the conviction and the execution of the sentence of Jansa. It is obvious that the process of repression has not stopped. The blood of innocents has been shed in Kosovo. The acts of civil disobedience are legitimate, for there is no freedom of the individual without the freedom of the people, and vice versa.

Tone Pavcek was the last to speak. He stressed that those who should have said the most about the subject of Rog and the Slovene Spring, the Slovene politicians, have said least. It would be proper if the Slovene leadership would support the four and would say, "We will not give them away," for they are an integral part of our Slovene Spring and the Slovene sovereignty.

BORBA Commentary Views 'United' Slovenia

AU1205175589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6-7 May 89 p 2

[Vojko Flegar commentary: "Reason From the Neck Down"]

[Text] For some people it is probably quite unexpected and for others it is a little less unexpected that the idyll between Slovene official policy and the critical part of the pluralized public seems to have been splitting recently. The call for civil disobedience on the part of citizens and collective members of the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights has met with a vociferous reaction from the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists [LC] of Slovenia, the Socialist Alliance, certain politicians, and the "official" part of the public. Similar to last fall (when "the young Turks of Slovenia" were reproached by Milan Kucan), the occasion for a "cooling in relations" which was hinted at this time by Janez Stanovnik and Joze Smole was a court order—which seems to be final—to Janez Jansa for him to begin serving his prison sentence. Indeed, this involves one of the four men convicted at last year's notorious trial in the Ljubljana military court.

The leadership or collegium of the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights followed the refusal by the competent court to once again postpone Jansa's sentence some 10 days ago with two vehement announcements. A whole string of non-violent actions of civil protest and civil disobedience were announced, along with a warning to the Slovene public that a group of delegates from the Slovene Assembly had officially confirmed that two points of the "alien" order were unconstitutional and illegal. A commentator on Ljubljana Television did not exactly choose her words when, with lightening speed, she "buried" the committee's appeal, calling it a tempting of fate, that is to say, the provocation of a state of emergency in Slovenia. With a classic gesture which is always welcome when there are no arguments (or when they disappear), she suggested "cold blood and a reasonable head" instead of civil disobedience. The Slovene public—and especially that part which "does not believe the military judgement"—has got out of the habit of hearing the direct announcement of official stands via television reports, so the reaction was two-fold. Bitterness was mixed with caution.

This could be seen from the next move made by the committee which decided at its plenary session to call off some activities that had been envisaged or leave a decision on them to its individual and collective members. The remaining principal activity was the protest meeting in the main square in Ljubljana. Intensified precautionary measures because of the (nevertheless) unexpectedly vociferous reaction in the form of the television commentary proved to be justified. Only several days after this, Joze Smole and Janez Stanovnik personally came out with identical stands.

They both decisively rejected the claim about the alleged "indulgence" of Slovene politicians who had for a long time promised a detailed re-examination of the circumstances and facts in connection with the trial of the four men but who, because of the supposed "peace in the house (in Yugoslavia)," do not now believe the findings of its own group of delegates. Smole also stressed that they had done everything possible and that they would still endeavor to clear up contentious issues in a legal way. In Smole's words, Raif Dizdarevic and the State

Presidency did not exactly analyze the proposal of the Slovene Presidency for pardoning the four men in a responsible way, but because of this it was not possible to support both a law-governed state and civil disobedience at the same time, as the committee did.

Janez Stanovnik did not permit himself to be interpreted wrongly either. He called the appeal to civil disobedience demagoguery and provocation. In his opinion, the announced action by the committee was a "knife in the back" of the Slovene public and, what is more interesting, he advocated harmony among Slovenes, that is to say, the unity of Slovenes.

Those people whose digestion in recent months has been spoiled by the so-called Slovene homogenization and who recognized the height of ("anti-Yugoslav") single-mindedness in the speeches at the infamous meeting in Cankar Hall, would probably rejoice at this development of the situation. They would come to some such argument that the "entire people do not stand" behind the Slovene leadership. They would immediately forget that they had condemned "the spies" even before the trial and how many delegate questions were asked in the federal assembly about sentences being served or not served.

This is the stand that an attentive reader could—mutatis mutandis—have discerned from Stanovnik's (non-paradoxical) aforementioned words. However, this sort of thinking about the harmony and unity of one people (which no one can touch until it starts quarreling within itself, that is, a people which can do anything while it is united) has been surpassed by history too much to be convincing. We have heard so many of these stories in recent years. I am not convinced that a people in Yugoslavia is threatened today because it is not united, it is more likely to be threatened because its creative potential in all fields has been thwarted by that same system that exists among all the other peoples. I am also not sure that, because of this, any "united" people (anywhere) has in actual fact succeeded in saving itself from being made a fool of and from final destruction.

The supposed external danger, that is, the Damoclean sword of a state of emergency in the event of civil disobedience which Joze Smole and Janez Stanovnik presented, reveals another misunderstanding in a part of Slovene politics. The past months of "peaceful coexistence" with the "opposition" have not been months of harmony and unity, nor of homogenization, no matter how much it seemed that way. This was in fact a period of relatively undisturbed establishment of unofficial political, intellectual, cultural, and even economic knots in a future (let us use this strong word) society which still needs to be "allowed" to change the classic socialist structure of relations between the state and society. It is all the more fortunate that, in its latest statement, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Slovene LC did not at least to some extent refute this pluralist course: "We need the strengthening of consciousness about the importance of a law-governed state and the affirmation of all its elements for our own sake (....) and not because of the increasingly frequent threats of a state of emergency and fear in the face of this."

Finally, the question definitely remains of whether one can nevertheless refute the right of the committee to support a law-governed state in principle and not to recognize in practice a binding decision by a court. How do we get to this question if so many words have been wasted on the idea that this is primarily not a question of criteria which have been politically confused in the country, of distorted value systems, terminological chaos, and "evened out" levels? The lack of journalistic professionalism (if this is not a pleonasm, one should add: accompanied by a large dose of politicization of varying hues) has even in this case created such a cacophony that nobody hears anybody else. While it is more than obvious to part of the Yugoslav public that "spies" must go to prison, another part is not completely convinced of this, and a third not at all. All of these base their stand on facts which they do not know well enough, which they presume to a certain extent, and which they perhaps only guess at. Since all the facts are not available to the public, they are inclined to believe the information which proceeds from the prejudices that are closest to their own. And until all the facts are known and all the legal means are exhausted, there should be no dilemma from the legal and moral point of view. People who doubt the validity of a court decision must have the opportunity to say so.

Macedonian Presidency on Constitutional Changes

LD1205174789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1342 GMT 12 May 89

[Excerpt] Skopje, 12 May (TANJUG)—The Macedonian Presidency today supported the proposal of the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Macedonian Assembly for the amendment of the republic's Constitution, as well as the text of the draft constitutional amendment no 56 whereby the definition of the statehood of Macedonia is altered. At today's session, presided over by Jezdimir Bogdanski, the Presidency called for a more adequate alteration of the definition of the Macedonian Socialist Republic as a state and as a socialist, self-managing and democratic community. [passage omitted]

Ivangrad Factory Workers Continue Protest

LD1405220189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1636 GMT 14 May 89

[Text] Ivangrad, 14 May (TANJUG)—The protest by workers at the cellulose and paper factory in Ivangrad, who have not emerged from the vicinity of the factory for the 3d day now, is continuing even after the official communique from today's extraordinary session of the Montenegrin executive council. The council did not support their demands. The workers rejected a proposal that they send their representatives to a meeting of the socio-political organizations' executive organs and the municipality assembly with a working group of the Montenegrin Executive Council, which was scheduled for this evening.

Zagreb Television Attacks Belgrade Newspaper

AU1305185689 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 May 89 p 3

[TANJUG report: "The Other Crazy Extreme"]

[Text] Zagreb, 6 May—Along with the story about the particular imperilment of its own's people, Serbian nationalists are today offering us the other crazy extreme—they recount the dead, exaggerate the otherwise horrific numbers of victims, and classify them according to nationality and faith, thereby following the logic of their murderers, it is stressed in a commentary by Zagreb Television journalist Zvonko Varosanac on a special edition of the STUDENT newspaper of Belgrade students, broadcast in Saturday's television news program.

This is only part of a real campaign which wants to accuse the entire Croatian people of the crimes committed by this people's traitors and prove this people's lasting genocidal nature. This special edition of the Belgrade newspaper STUDENT is only the latest example of everything that we have already had the opportunity to read in the nationalistically distorted mirror of our past and present, in the so-called Memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Science and Art, it is said in the Zagreb Television commentary. "The 20 authors of this shameful publication claim that a conspiracy of silence and an efficiently developed strategy of forgetfulness exist concerning the genocide over the Serbs, that genocidal thinking was and remains entrenched in the Croatian people, being fully expressed as authentic genocidal thought and practice and an "anti-Serbian feeling beyond nationalism and the Third Reich," says the commentary. [quotation marks as published]

MLADINA Accuses Army of Assuming Power

AU1405151489 Ljubljana MLADINA in Slovene 14 Apr 89 p 5

[Article by Botteri and Suhadolnik: "Death Squads: Go to Hell"—preceding three words published in English]

[Text] Yugoslavia has joined the famous club of military dictatorship states in the way attempted by some rebel strategists when the student movements were broken: by a march of the generals through the institutions. Uniformed apparatchiks can now topple anybody in the party oligarchy: Markovic, Milosevic, or Kucan. It is also obvious that the civilian party top leadership has not even a minimum of influence on the dirty business of the Yugoslav military industry. The latest exports of death may be surmised from a Federal Chamber report on the visit by a Yugoslav expert delegation in Chile at the end of March, where they also met partners from the Chilean Defense Ministry. Of course we may ask only rhetorical questions about what weapons were sold by Yugoslavia to the Chilean dictatorship, but we may be assured that the Yugoslav Army Shogun authorities, with their largest percentage share of the federal budget and with the profits from the most lucrative export trade (death), possess sufficient capital to finance war not only in Kosovo but in the Balkans at large. The probability of the prospect of a civilian political collapse of the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Yugoslavia has been staged by the "Kelmendi" suicidal action and the quasi-legal trial of the four spies in Ljubljana. This was the prelude to the setting up of a military dictatorship, and an offensive against democracy, which objectively speaking, provided the last chance to the Army.

However, how is it possible that the Army, in which (militant) ideological opportunism prevails instead of professional skills, and dilettante disorganization prevails instead of professional responsibility, how then could the Army so skillfully assume power in the state? [sentence as published] Who stands behind the fascinating brutal reprisals in Kosovo? The true guarantee of the protection of the constitutional order and the law are certainly not the obligatory personnel of the forge of brotherhood and unity, but the special detachments, brainwashed anonymous murderers, who with equal professionalism flatten cars, demolish houses, and shoot dead dogs, children, and adults.

Vinca Institute Confirms Cold Fusion Results

AU1405192289 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 8 May 89 p 8

[Article by Dr Vujo Miljevic, head of the cold fusion research team at the Vinca Institute for Nuclear Physics: "Cold Fusion In Vinca"]

[Text] As known, electrochemists Martin Fleischmann of Southampton University and Stanley Pons of the University of Utah conducted a fusion experiment in, as they say, an ordinary jar at room temperature. The fusion process was followed by a release of heat and insignificant neutron radiation.

These results have caused a real sensation in the world. Fleischmann's and Pons' experiment has been tried out in many laboratories eager to check and confirm their results. Our press has extensively reported on this. One must not forget that, according to the prevailing view today, fusion is the most promising clean source of energy and the excitement caused by these experiments is therefore understandable. So, another team was set up in the Vinca Institute or the Institute for Nuclear Physics, to work on cold fusion.

This research team did not repeat electro-chemical experiments of Fleischmann and Pons, but conducted fusion experiments in a gas environment. This approach proved to be correct.

Almost immediately after switching the reactor (a usual name for machines used for performing some reaction) on, we registered neutron radiation two to three times higher than the natural phon. The experiment was repeated several times and increased neutron radiation was registered every time. Beside neutrons, some secondary effects were also registered which confirmed the above-mentioned results.

The beauty of this experiment lies in the fact that the reactor works on the switch-on-switch-off principle similar to that of a light bulb: when the reactor is switched on, neutrons produce radiation and vice versa.

The energy results of the reaction were not measured.

Dr Milos Skoric, Ljupco Hadzijevski, and lately Dr Jovan Konstantinovic also took part in the experiment. I would also like to express my thanks to other colleagues from the Institute who helped in carrying out the experiment.

Of course, we are still intensively working on this experiment and will publish the results of our research. Another result of our experiments are two patents (registered with the Federal Institute for Patents).

Finally, I would like to stress that in the meantime there have been other similar, but not the same, experiments in Italy.